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# A CONSPIRACY OF THE SPANIARDS Againſt the State of VENICE.

*Out of French.*

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# A Conſpiracy of the *Spaniards* againſt the State of *Venice*, &c.

AMongſt all Humane Enterprizes Conſpiracies are certainly of greateſt conſequence; for Courage, Prudence and Fidelity, being equally requiſite to every Member, are Qualities rare in themſelves, therefore much more rarely found to concur in ſingle perſons. We are inclined for the moſt part to flatter our ſelves with an opinion of being better beloved than we are, eſpecially when our Merit ſeconds our Belief, and we have been ſtudious in the Art of obliging. Hence ſome Principal Conſpirators are drawn to rely entirely upon the Affection of their Party; but there is ſcarce any Friendſhip ſo powerful as the fear of Death; for Affection if it prove violent, perverts the Judgment in all occurrences of ſurprize; the aids of Diſ-

cretion being ſeldom at hand: and whoſoever give violent inſtances of their Love towards any one thing, betray Infirmity and too much Subjection to their Paſſions.

If a Conſpirator on the other hand be a man of Judgment, and that there is no reaſon to ſuſpect his Prudence, then the ſame Vertue tempers his ardour, and renders his Zeal leſs active than the others: he is apter to fall into the contemplation of the great hazard to which he is expoſed, and of the Methods wiſely to diſengage him; to weigh that the profits accrewing by the Conſpiracy are uncertain, and that to reveal it to ſuch againſt whom it is contrived, his Reward is ſure. Moreover the general Talents and Abilities of Men are the product for the moſt part of their Experience, and their reaſonings ſeldom prove ſolid in affairs unpractiſed; Wiſdom being a profiting from Errors committed, and collecting thence Rules for our ſafer Government in the future.

But ſince there is no compariſon, either for the danger, or the difficulty, between a Conſpiracy, and any other kind of Enterprize, (no Experience whatſoever in other affairs being able in any meaſure to enlighten Us in the conduct and managements of this) to be ſafe therefore againſt the commiſſion of any conſiderable Errour, imployes our acquaintance in

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the Profeſſion, and it is very rare to find a perſon that has been twice Engaged in Affairs of this kind: for if he ſucceed in his firſt Attempt, the profits that accrew thereupon ſecure him againſt the need of expoſing himſelf to a ſecond danger; and if he miſcarry, he is either cruſhed in the ruines, or will hardly be drawn to run a ſecond riſque, if he eſcape. To theſe hazards we muſt add, that how deteſted ſoever a Tyrant may be, yet Self-Love proves ever more powerful than our Hate towards others: For it is not enough that Conſpirators be really men of Fidelity, if every Member be not ſo poſſeſt of all his Companions; and a Leader ought to have as ſerious and equal regard even to the Panick Fears, and the moſt airy Imaginations that may occur, as to the ſolider and more important difficulties of his Enterprize, as being equally capable of miſchief: For a ſingle Word ſpoken upon a Foreign Subject; a Geſture, without any deſign, may beget a ſuſpicion of Treachery, and cauſe a precipitate Execution: alſo a Circumſtance of time, or place, being in it ſelf of no conſideration, may yet occaſion much Surprize and Apprehenſion: and all this, from the difficulty of providing againſt ſuch variety of Chances. For ſuch is the nature of man, that he fancies every body diſcyphers his heart, and ſtudies to ſuſpect he is diſcovered from all that is ſaid

or done in his preſence; and the Conſcience of guilt corrupting our Reaſon attaqu's us by every object. And now if the difficulties are inſuperable in Conſpiracies againſt ſingle Perſons, What judgment can be made upon the invading of Multitudes, and when we aſpire to to the *Uſurpation* of whole Cities or States, wherein will be requir'd more time to contrive and digeſt, and greater numbers to execute the Deſign? Theſe Reflections have taught me to conſider ſuch Enterprizes as points of Hiſtory, of all others the moſt moral and inſtructive, and are my Motive to the making publick a Conſpiracy of an Embaſſadour from the Court of *Spain* to the State of *Venice* againſt that Common-wealth, about fifty ſix years ſince.

I know not whether or no my Judgment may have been ſeduced by my affection to the Subject I have undertaken; though I muſt ingenuouſly avow, I know none that affords greater inſtance of the effects of Prudence in the Tranſactions of the World, or of Chance; of the vaſt extent of Humane Wit, and its various confines, of its Elevations the moſt aſpiring, and its moſt ſecret Failings, the infinite circumſpection neceſſary to Government; the difference between Good and Evil Arts, and between Wiſdom and Subtilty: and if Malice be moſt hateful in the abuſe of things the moſt

moſt excellent, then may this Hiſtory be an *argument* of our greater Horror, where we find the moſt excellent Qualities employed to an End the moſt deteſtable. And hence a wiſe *Greek*, as we read, obſerving a Criminal perſiſt in an untruth amidſt his torments with a marvelous Conſtancy, could not forbear exclaiming; *Oh unfortunate wretch, that could uſe ſo excellent a Vertue to ſo baſe a purpoſe!*

The difference between *Paul* the fifth, and the Republick of *Venice* being compoſed by the power of *France* with the Honour due to the Holy See, and the deſerved Glory of the Venetians, *Spain* alone found thence ſubject of Complaint; for having eſpouſed the Papal Intereſt, and propoſing to reduce the Venetians by force of Arms, they were offended that a Treaty ſhould be entred upon with ſo little regard to them; but having more narrowly ſtudied the ſecret of that Accommodation, they found no juſt occaſion of Complaint againſt his Holineſs, & that the Contempt which appeared to have been done to them in that Affair, proceeded wholly from the *Venetians*: for it was the Senate that endeavoured to exclude them (in ſome ſort) the Mediation, pretending they could not well be Judges that had ſhewed ſo much partiality. How diſtaſteful ſoever this Injury might be, yet they gave no hint of their reſentment during the reign of

*Henry* the fourth; the Obligations which that Prince ſtood in towards the *Venetians* were too publick, and the Care he expreſt of their Intereſt during their difference with the Court of *Rome* was no leſs; but his Death ſetting the *Spaniard* at Liberty, there wanted then nothing but a Pretext.

There inhabited in the Territory of the houſe of *Auſtria*, in the quarter coaſting upon the *Adriatick* and contiguous to that of the *Venetians*, a neſt of Pyrats known by the name of *Uſcocks*: theſe Pilferers having committed innumerable violences upon the Subjects of the Republick, were protected by the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand de Gratz* then Sovereign of that Country and afterwards Emperor; himſelf was a very Pious Prince, but his Miniſters were ſharers in the booty with the *Uſcocks*, and being avowed Friends to the *Spaniard* made uſe of this occaſion to revenge them on the *Venetians*.

The Emperor *Matthias* moved by the juſt inſtances of the Republick compoſed this difference at *Vienna* in February *Anno Dom.* 1612. but the Accomodation was ſo ill obſerved on the part of the Arch-Duke that they came at length to an open War, wherein he was not ſo clear a Gainer as the *Spaniards* had propoſed to themſelves.

The *Venetians* by their good conduct eaſily re-

repaired the ſlight Damages they ſuſtained in ſome little Encounters, and being at that time ſecure againſt the leaſt apprehenſion of the *Turks*, they were better able to ſupport the War, than the Arch-Duke. That Prince was at length preſſed by the Emperor to make a Peace in contemplation of the Grand Seignor's menacing of *Hungary*; himſelf alſo became engaged in a very conſiderable expence in favour of his Election to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which happened ſoon after: The *Spaniard* would gladly have contributed towards the continuation of this War, had not that alſo in which they were then engaged with *Charls Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy* forbid the ſeparation of their Forces, and that Duke being ſupplied with large Sums from the Republick could by no means be wrought to violate his Amity with them. The *Spaniſh* Council laid deeply to heart the exceeding proſperity of the Affairs of *Venice*, and the ſoft & peaceable Temper of King *Philip*, and that of his Favourite the Duke of *Lerma*, ſuggeſted little or no proſpect of a redreſs: But a Miniſter of theirs, reſident at that time in *Italy*, not guilty of the ſame Moderation, undertook the buſineſs; and this was Don *Alphonſo de la Cueva* Marquis of *Bedamar*, Ordinary Ambaſſador at *Venice*, a Man of the moſt exalted Underſtanding and dangerous Spirit that *Spain* has ever produced

duced: his own Writings, that are yet extant ſpeak him qualified with all the requiſits that Hiſtorians ancient and modern have ſet down to compoſe an extraordinary Man; he compared paſt Tranſactions with the Occurrences of his own time, he obſerved exactly the differences and reſemblances of Affairs, and how much thoſe which ſeem to be alike are changed by what is different; he was able to give his judgment of the Iſſue from the firſt draught & project of any Enterprize: If he found he had propheſied amiſs, he would trace his Error back to the ſource, and learn the true cauſe of his miſtake; by this ſtudy he became throughly acquainted with the ſureſt Methods, the trueſt Means, and the moſt material Circumſtances that preſage ſucceſs to any great Adventure, and render them for the moſt part proſperous; his practice of perpetual reading, meditation, and obſervance of Tranſactions of the world, had raiſed him to that high pitch of Wiſdom, that his conjectures as to the reſult of any Affair were eſteemed in the Court of *Spain* as ſo many Propheſies. To this profound Learning in the nature of great Affairs was joyned a ſingular Dexterity in the conductive part, a Facility in ſpeaking and writing with a moſt charming elegance, a marvelous Felicity in the knowledg of men, a Behaviour ever gay and open, wherein one read more heat than gravity,

vity, ſo remote from Diſſimulation as to look like Simplicity, a Humour free and compliſant, and ſo much the more impenetrable by how much every body thought they underſtood him; of Manners, ſoft, inſinuating and indearing, whereby he ſcrewed himſelf into the moſt dark and difficult Secrets, always preſerving a perfect calm and ſerenity of Countenance amidſt the moſt violent and cruel agitations of Spirit. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters had at that time a great aſcendent on the Governments wherein they reſided, and the Marquis of *Bedamar* was choſen for *Venice* in the year 1607. as to the moſt difficult of all Forreign Employments, wherein he could hope no aſſiſtance from either Women, Prieſt, or Favorite; the Council of *Spain* was ſo well pleaſed with his Miniſtery, that how needful ſoever his ſervice was to them at home, yet in the ſpace of ſix years they could not reſolve to recal him. So long a Reſidence gave him leiſure to ſtudy the principles of that Government, to penetrate their moſt retired Cabinets, to diſcover their ſtrengths and weakneſſes, their advantages and defects; He foreſeeing that the Arch-Duke would be neceſſitated to make a Peace, and that it would reflect ſhamefully upon them, the Injury being wholly on their part, he reſolveth to embarque in ſome Deſign that might prevent it: he conſidered

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that the preſent ſtate of Affairs in *Venice* did not render the Deſign of maſtering it impracticable, by the Intelligence he had acquired & the Forces he was able to provide. Their Armies had dreined their *Magazines* of Arms, and had in a greater meaſure diminiſhed their People capable of bearing them; and as their Navy had never been in a more flouriſhing condition, ſo their Senate had never been conſidered ſo formidable, or held a better opinion of their own Security: howbeit, this invincible Fleet was obliged to be ſtill hovering upon the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, the then ſeat of the War; the Army too was as remote; ſo that in *Venice* there was ſcarce any thing that could ſuggeſt a reaſon againſt the deſcent of the *Spaniſh* Naval Army: To render this deſcent more ſecure, the Marquis of *Bedamar* reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of two principal poſts, and thoſe were the place of St. *Mark* & the *Arſenal*; but he conſidered the difficulty would be great, without ſome accident to diſturb the repoſe the City at preſent enjoyed; he propoſed therefore the applying fire in ſeveral places the moſt combuſtible and the moſt needful of relief about the City. He was not over-haſty in rendring an account hereof to his Maſter, knowing how tender moſt Princes are of explaining themſelves upon Affairs of this nature until they are ripened to a degree of affording nothing more to execute, but an aſ-

aſſurance of poſſeſſion, in caſe it take effect; he contented himſelf barely to remark to the Duke of *Uſeda* principal Secretary of State, that upon conſidering the diſhonour the Houſe of *Auſtria* had ſuſtained by the inſolent behaviour of the *Venetians* during the War of *Friol*, and that all the means that had been propoſed for an accord, both at *Vienna* and elſewhere, reſulted in Ignominie and Contempt; he conſidered himſelf in a Station wherein Nature, as well as Policy, did oblige a faithful Subject to have recourſe to all imaginable Arts, to preſerve his Prince and Country, from an Infamy otherwiſe inevitable; and that Care became eſpecially incumbent on him in regard of the Employment he exerciſed, wherein having continually before his eyes the very Sources and Spring-heads of thoſe evils ſo important of Redreſs, no man was a better Judg than himſelf what ſort of Remedy to apply, and that he would attempt to acquit himſelf of that Duty in ſuch manner as ſhould be worthy the Zeal he profeſt for the Glory of his Maſter.

The Duke of *Uſeda*, who was throughly acquainted with his Worth, ſoon comprehended that his diſcourſe was the diſguiſe of ſome Project equally important and dangerous; but as wiſe men ſeldom pry deeper into Secrets of this nature than they are compell'd, he forbore to communicate his thoughts thereupon to the chief

chief Miniſter, and only replyed to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, in general terms, extolling his Zeal, and committing the reſt to his accuſtomed Prudence.

The Marquis that lookt for no other, was not at all ſurprized at ſo cold an anſwer, and now ſtudied nothing more than to diſpoſe his Deſign that he might have perfect Aſſurance of the wiſhed Event.

The World never had Monarchy ſo abſolute as is the Empire by which the Senate of *Venice* governs that Republick; they obſerve a wonderful difference betwixt their Nobility &thoſe that are not ſo, weighing even the moſt ſcrupulous and minute circumſtance. Their Nobles only are qualified to govern in the reſpective Countrys of their Obedience; The moſt eminent Gentry and Principal Magiſtrates of the Country living among them with the diſtinction rather of Sovereigns than Governours: and in caſe the Republick confers at any time Offices of truſt in their *Militia* upon Strangers, it is always on ſtrict conditions of their perfect Obedience to the Sentiments of their *Generaliſſimo*, which is ever a *Venetian*, who in effect never affords them other latitude than the executive part.

As there is no Pretenſion ſo plauſible as a War, for taxation of the People, that of the *Uſcocks* gave a fair occaſion for inriching the Nobi-

Nobility of *Venice*, by whoſe conduct it was managed: this alone was an extraordinary Expence, and over and above the Treaſure remitted to *Piedmont*, they were conſtrained to maintain alſo a third Army in *Lombardy* to attend the motions of the Governour of *Milan*, who daily threatned them with a diverſion in favour of the Arch-Duke. The Juſtice of the Republick's cauſe rendred their Miniſters yet more hardy in contriving new vexations, but not the People more patient in ſuffering them; herein they proceeded to ſuch a degree as gave the Marquis of *Bedamar* reaſonable Aſſurance to believe that the Revolution he had meditated, would be almoſt as welcom to the Commonality, as fatal to the People of Quality. Among them alſo there were many that were grown out of love with the Government, and theſe were the *Partizans* of the Court of Rome; and indeed were the greateſt number, ambitious and revengeful, reſenting the Republick's having governed againſt their Councils during their conteſt with that Court: Theſe ſeemed prepared to do or ſuffer any thing, to wrench the Authority out of their hands that then had it, & would joyfully have beheld the Government unfortunate, as being the fruits of a Conduct they had diſapproved. There was another ſhallow ſort of Fools that would be more Catholick than the Pope, who upon his

his Holineſs relinquiſhing his Pretenſions in the Accomodation, conceived he had been obliged thereunto by the Rules of Policy, and conſequently that if there was any mental Reſervation in that proceeding, that it was to be feared the ſentence of Excommunication ſtill reſted in force in the Intentions of his Holineſs: Of this number ſome were Senators, men as Indigent in their fortunes as their minds; theſe were of great uſe in the purſuit of the Marquis of *Bedamar's* Deſign, who, converted by expenſive Gifts, became perſwaded, that ſince that Negotiation none could be longer a *Venetian* with a ſafe Conſcience. Notwithſtanding the rigorous Injunctions againſt the Nobilities holding correſpondence with ſtrangers, yet the Marquis found means to contract a very intimate underſtanding with the neceſſitous and male-content Party; and in caſe any of theſe had either near Kinſman in Religious Orders, a Miſtreſs, or any familiar Eccleſiaſtick, theſe he would compaſs at any rate; buying them with Preſents of conſiderable value, making uſe of nothing ordinary, but curioſities from Forreign parts: ſuch Liberalities, on ſo ſlender Motives, gave encouragement to the Receivers to hope for ſomething yet more conſiderable: In which proſpect they informed him with all ſimplicity to the full of his Curioſity, & laboured alſo to furniſh themſelves in many

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doubtful points the better to enable them to comply with his Demands, and his acknowledgments ſtill tranſcending their aſſiduity gave at length incitement to their Engaging their Patrons alſo in this Commerce.

It is ſtill to be concluded that Poverty was the principal wheel of this Engine, and that theſe Noble men could not regard but with an eye of envy, People entirely their dependents ſhould on their conſiderationbecome more rich than themſelves: But however it came to paſs, from thence forth there was nothing debated by the Senate that was a Secret to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador: His advertiſements were ſo punctual of all their reſolutions, that the Generals of the Arch-Duke became ſtill inſtructed in whatſoever had relation to the War before thoſe of the Republick could receive Orders for their execution: Together with this Intelligence it imported the Ambaſſador to have a conſiderable number of Soldiers to give life to his Enterprize; but the *Spaniard* having a ſtrong Army in *Lombardy*, he ſaw no difficulty in that point, provided there might be a Governour of *Milan* qualified to joyn with him in the Deſign. The Marquis *de Inojoſa*, that then held that place, had contracted too near an Allyance with the Duke of *Savoy*, to be thought fit; he was newly returned from ſigning the Treaty at *Aſt*, where the *French* and

*Venetians* had been Mediators between that Duke and him. The Ambaſſadour knowing that the negotiation would not be well reliſhed in *Spain*, writ that he might be recalled; and at the ſame time ſolicited *Don Pedro de Toledo* Marquis *de Villa Franca*, his intimate Friend, to make his Intereſt to ſucceed him in the Government of *Milan*. *Don Pedro* had hereupon Orders for his departure to fill *Inajoſa's* place about the end of the Year 1615. and before he was quite arrived he diſpatched advice to *Venice* by the Marquis *de Lara*. The Ambaſſador communicates his Project to the Marquis in terms the moſt agreeable, charging him principally to inform himſelf if the new Governour could be able to provide him of 1500 choice Men, when he ſhould ſee occaſion. *Don Pedro* charmed with the Grandeur of the Enterprize reſolved to ſecond him in what he was able, not expoſing himſelf to a certain ruine in caſe of a defeat; He therefore diſpatches the Marquis *de Larã* a ſecond time to confirm the Ambaſſador, and alſo to requeſt him to conſider that the Souldiers he demanded were to be the choiceſt pickt Men, and in caſe they periſht, he ſhould remain without excuſe to have expoſed to ſo manifeſt a hazard the whole Flower of his Army; howbeit he would not fail to provide him as many as poſſibly he could, and that they ſhould be ſuch as he would

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anſwer for as for himſelf. Nothing was ſo important to this Deſign of the Ambaſſador as to obſtruct all means tending to an Accommodation; on which conſideration he obliged the Marquis *de Lara* to make Propoſitions of Peace to the Senate very unreaſonable on the behalf of the Governour of *Milan*: The Senates reply was as they expected, full of Indignation, and refuſing to enter into a Treaty with them: *Don Pedro* alſo was wanting in nothing on his part to perplex matters; The Duke of *Mantua* was cold in his diſpoſition of pardoning his Rebel Subjects, according to his Promiſe at the Treaty at *Aſt*, and was encouraged in his obſtinacy touching that Article, & to perſevere in his Executions he had already begun amongſt them: Propoſitions were alſo made to the Duke of *Savoy* in relation to the fulfilling of that Treaty, forſeeing that hē would not accept it; they likewiſe excuſed disbanding their Army, as he had done, and as they ought, with pretext grounded on the War of *Friol*, wherein the *Spaniard* could no longer with honour refuſe to take a Share. The *Venetian* Army had paſſed the *Lyzonzo*, and beſieged *Gradiſque* the Capital City in the Arch-Dukes Territories; Whereupon The Council of *Spain*, who hitherto had obſerved a Neutrality, foreſeeing the damages were like to enſue to that Prince, threatned to de-

clare; About the ſame time expired the miſunderſtanding that had been in the Houſe of *Auſtria* between the two branches of *Spain* and *Germany*, after the conteſt between the Son & Brother of *Charles* the fifth touching the ſucceſſion of the Empire: The Intereſt the *Spaniard* took in that War was the firſt inſtance of that Reconcilement. *Don Pedro* ordered the Camp-maſter *Gambeletta* to advance towards *Crema* with his troops, and commanded the mounting of 24 pieces of Battery at *Pravia*, which as he publiſht to the World, were to be the train to a Body of 8000 men, to march under the conduct of *Don Sancio de Luna*. On the other hand the Vice-King of *Naples*, that was then cruizing in the *Mediterranean* with the *Spaniſh* Fleet, threatned to attack the Duke of *Savoy* at *Villa Franca*; he blockt up all the paſſages of relief by Sea to the Republick, and appeared always in a poſture of Sayling into the Gulf, to be a check there upon the *Venetian* Fleet. The Miniſters of that State made loud Complaints in all Courts touching this violent proceeding, which the Marquis of *Bedamar* undertook to juſtifie; he alſo foreſaw that it would be of great uſe in his Deſign to undermine, if it were poſſible, the very Foundation of their repute, famed throughout *Europe* for ſo many ages for the moſt Ancient and Free of all States: their Freedom had been newly

newly proved to the World, and magnified more than ever (upon occaſion of their late Difference with the *Pope*) by ſeveral Diſcourſes that were ſuppoſed unanſwerable; albeit the adverſe Party wanted not able Inſtruments in the management of that Conteſt. This the Ambaſſador fell to examine anew, and in a few Chapters refuted all that the numerous Volumes of *Venetian* Authors had ſaid on that Subject, without ſo much as doing any one of them the honour of making mention of his Name: And as there is no Propoſition relating to matters of that ſort which an able man may not render very problematick, upon pretext of eſtabliſhing the Emperial Right in *Venice*, he obviated that the Independence of that Republick was as Chimerical as their Empire of the Ocean; it was not convenient for his purpoſe that he ſhould be known the Author of this *Libel*, he therefore Publiſhes it with ſo cautious a Secrecy that it came not to Light during his Life, howbeit it ſeems ſtrange he ſhould not be ſuſpected; but it is alſo to be believed that the *Venetians* at that time ſcarce underſtood him; his behaviour airy and ſo full of emportment, (for ſo he ſtudied to appear) would not permit them to conceive that a man of a Character ſo impetuous, could be author of ſo refin'd and ſtudied a Satyre of State. Juſtice and Honeſty ſeemed equally to inſpire him, and

his declamations againſt the Enterprizes of the *Venetians*, that went alſo mixed, were handled with a Moderation very apparent which alone was ſufficient to gain applauſe. This Work intituled *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, made much noiſe, and by reaſon of the obſcurity of the Author, the ſuſpicion fell of courſe upon the Court of *Rome*, from the occaſion of their former Writings; and the ableſt Senators fancied all the World made their Judgment of the weight thereof, and were more affrighted than at the loſs of a Battle.

*Francis Paoblo* had ordered to examine it; but he, who could trifle with the other Writers of the contrary Party, declared this laſt was by no means to be anſwered; it being impoſſible without Inlightning the World in Matters that imported more ſhould ſtill remain concealed in the dark boſom of Antiquity; however he replied that in caſe the Senate judged it conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Republick to reſent the outrage, he engaged himſelf ſo to perplex the Court of *Rome* in their Defence, that they would hardly ever think of a ſecond attack: this Intimation was approved in the heat of their diſpleaſure, and gave *Fra. Paoblo* the ſatisfaction of publiſhing his beloved Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, which under leſs motive had not appeared during his Life. In the *interim* the Campagne in the year 1616

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paſſed without any conſiderable action on either ſide; the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Venice*, being tender of expoſing to a ſecond Riſque the glory they had already purchaſed, impowered *Gritty* the *Venetian* Ambaſſador at *Madrid* to renew the negotiation; but the *Spaniard*, irritated by the Difficulties they had encountred, contrived Propoſitions ſo unreaſonable that it took no effect. *Gradiſque* continued, blockt up the enemy, maintaining their Battery during the Winter, and the Armies were in the field betimes with an ardour that promiſed more ſucceſs than the preceeding year.

The Dutch Truce had rendred the greateſt part of the Souldiery of that State uſeleſs, and many Soldiers of Fortune both *French* and *Germans* ſought employment elſewhere; The Count of *Naſſaw* and *Leiveſteine* marched with 8000 men, *Dutch* and *Walloons*, to the *Venetians* Service; Whereupon the *Spaniards* zealouſly complained to the *Pope*, that the *Venetians* did expoſe *Italy* to the infection of Hereſy by their entertaining that *Militia*: but the Ambaſſador of *Venice* remonſtrated, that it was not ſo much the *Spaniards* concern for Religion that produced that Complaint, as their apprehenſion to ſee two great Republicks in conjunction againſt them. The Marquis of *Bedamar* would have been much perplext had

the *Pope* obliged the *Venetians* to diſmiſs thoſe Troops; for as the major part of *Military* people regard nothing ſo much as their profit, when they are in ſervice under a Forreign Prince, he hoped to draw the chief of Mercenaries into his Deſign, convincing them by largeſſes and the hopes of pillaging *Venice*. In this contemplation he fixt upon an ancient *French Gentleman*, by name *Nico Renault*, a perſon of experience and underſtanding, who had taken refuge at *Venice* for ſome cauſe that was unknown; The Marquis of *Bedamar* obſerved him to have been a long time reſident at the *French* Ambaſſadors, and from ſome accidental Diſcourſes had been between them *Renault* diſcovered him to be no leſs an able Man than fame had rendred him: and the Marquis who was glad to purchaſe a friend of his Character near the Ambaſſador of France, had contracted a ſtrait Intimacy with *Renault*, who though a man extreamly indigent, yet preferred Vertue to Riches; howbeit could ſacrifice his Vertue to his Ambition, and whenſoever innocent methods ſhould fail him in the purſuit of Glory, there were none too ill for his purpoſe: he had learnt out of ancient Authors that moſt excellent Indifference relating to life and death, which is the ſure Foundation of an extraordinary Deſign, and ever regretting thoſe celebrated times wherein the merit of particular men com-

compoſed the deſtiny of States, and where ſuch as were poſſeſſors thereof never wanted occaſions to make out their Title. The Marquis of *Bedamar* that had thoroughly ſtudied him, and that was in great want of a Man on whom intirely to confide in the conduct of his Enterprize reveals it at length to him, declaring withal he had his eye fixt on him from the very beginning. *Renault* held himſelf obliged more by that Aſſurance than from all the praiſes he could have heaped upon him; his years, wherein he was advanced, kept him ſteedy to his Engagements; the leſs Time he had to live the leſs was his Adventure; he conceived he could not better employ the few uneaſy years he had yet to paſs than to hazard them to the making his name Immortal. The Marquis of *Bedamar* gave him Credentials and Bills of Exchange neceſſary to negotiate with the *Hollands* Officers; and charged him by no means to communicate the Deſign to them, and only to intimate that Affairs being embittered to that degree between the Republick and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador reſident at *Venice*, foreſeeing a conjuncture that might expoſe his Perſon to the rage of the People of that City, to ſecure himſelf againſt which he endeavoured to provide himſelf of a conſiderable number of truſty reſolute Friends. This pretext was thin enough, but the

the leaſt diſguize in Affairs of this nature is of great uſe; it imported but little though People ſuſpected Myſtery, provided the Truth remained ſtill in the dark: by this means he hoped to debauch the Flower of the *Venetian* Land-Army, and for the remainder it would be ſo infeebled, that it would be a very eaſy task for *Don Pedro* to defeat them in their March, in caſe they ſhould advance in oppoſition, to his deſign. Their Naval Army was indeed what gave greater reaſon of apprehenſion; they were at all times fleſht with the opinion of Conquerors, and were eaſily tranſported; the greateſt part of the Soldiery natural Subjects of the State, and it was to not be doubted but that, upon the firſt rumor of the Conſpiracy, they would fly with ſwifteſt diligence towards *Venice*. To expect their defeat from the *Spaniſh* Navy was a doubtful point, and it had not been Prudent to put to the hazard of a Battel the ſucceſs of an Enterprize that was otherwiſe ſo full of danger: It was therefore judged moſt to the purpoſe to contrive how to render their fleet uncapable of Service; The Ambaſſador, who was not ſo great a Maſter in Maritine Affairs as the Vice-King of *Naples*, who at that time commanded the *Spaniſh Armada*, found it therefore needful to conſult him upon that Subject: The Vice-King, who was

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to be a principal Actor in this Tragedy of the Ambaſſador's, was that Duke of *Oſſuna*, ſo famous for his Gallantries; a man as enterprizing as either *Don Pedro* or the Marquis of *Bedamar*: this Conformity of mind had begotten a very ſtrait Intelligence between theſe three Miniſters: but neither *Don Pedro*, nor the Duke, were the ableſt Counſellors: the Duke would be ſometimes guilty of excurſions approaching to extravagance; howbeit the high opinion they held of the Marquis *de Bedamar* contained them within ſtricter bounds of Prudence than they profeſt. The profits accrewing to thoſe that follow the Trade of Piracy under ſome ſort of powerful Protection had drawn to the Court of the Vice-King of *Naples* all the renowned Pyrats of the *Mediterranean*: This Vice-King that was fruitful in extraordinary Adventures, and in his practice rather profuſe than covetous, did not protect them ſo much with regard to the advantages he ſhared in their Booty, as to retain always about him a conſiderable number of People fit for any Enterprize: and not content barely to receive them, but whenſoever he found a man above the common *Level*, would covet and cheriſh him by ſuch favours and preſents as bound him faſt to himſelf: he had treated after this ſort a certain Captain by Birth a *Norman*, and named *Jacques Pierre*, and

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ſo excellent in his profeſſion, that all others held it their Glory to proceed by his Rules and Example; a man whoſe manners had taken no impreſſion from the barbarity of that courſe of life, who having purchaſed wherewithal to ſubſiſt, had reſolved to quit it, albeit in the Flower of his age, and had made choice of the Duke of *Savoy's* Territory for his retreat, who being a *Prince* taken with every extraordinary Talent, and ſo much an abler Judge from what himſelf poſſeſt of Natures bounty, knowing this Corſair to have the repute of one of the braveſt Men living, vouchſaft him leave to ſettle himſelf in *Niſa*. All ſorts of Maritine People, from Soldiers and Officers to the Seamen, that frequented that Coaſt, made their ordinary Court to the Captain, his Counſils were their Oracles, and he was Sovereign Arbiter of all their Differences, and was yet a greater Subject of their Wonder that he could be able to relinquiſh a profeſſion wherein he was ſo great a Maſter, and which of all others was ſo hard to quit: of this number was one *Vincent Robert de Marſeilles* who happened to touch in *Sicily*, where the Duke of *Oſſuna* Governed as Vice-Roy, was by the kind treatment he received, induced to put himſelf into his Service; The Duke having heard that this *Robert* had been a Comrade of the ſaid Captains, would familiarly complain to him that his

Friend

Friend ſhould prefer the Country of the Duke of *Savoy* to his Government for his retreat; to his complaint he added the higheſt teſtimonies of his eſteem of the Courage and Experience of that Captain in Sea-matters, and finiſht his diſcourſe with aſſurance to ſpare nothing that in him lay to invite to his Court a Perſon of ſo ſingular merit. *Robert* with great Joy embarkt in this Affair, which being managed with ſo generous advances on the Dukes part, the Captain was in the end vanquiſht, and tranſported himſelf with his Wife and Family into *Sicily*, where living conſtantly entertained with a proſpect of the Sea he became daily leſs Maſter of his Inclinations to that Element. The Vice-Roy had newly built ſeveral beautiful *Gallions*, and it happened that a party of Turkiſh Veſſels of great Value being on their Voyage with a very ſlender convoy, this temptation the Captain had not power to withſtand; and he found no cauſe to repent him, for that he took in that attempt an incredible booty, the major part whereof the Duke (who from thence forwards entertained him with the Indearments of a Brother) beſtowed on him, on condition he would accompany him to *Naples* to which Government the Kings Inſtructions had ordained him, and that he would make a Voyage to *Provence*, and labour to draw into his Stoice all the able

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Mariners of his acquaintance upon that Coaſt. The Captain obeys him, and returns with a number ſufficient to man five large Veſſels that appertained immediately to the Vice-Roy; of this *Squadron* he was made Commander in chief, with which he Pillaged uncontrouled all the *Iſlands* and Coaſts of the *Levant*, and finiſh his firſt expedition with a Famous Battle wherein he took and ſank a conſiderable *Squadron* of *Turks Galleys*. 'Twas about that time that the Marquis of *Bedamar* communicated his purpoſe to the Duke of *Oſſuna* with full aſſurance of his readineſs to Embark with him: The Duke, that aſpired to the Dominion of thoſe Seas, wiſhed nothing with ſo much ardour as the ruine of the *Venetians*, who were his only powerful Rivals, and could diſpute their Title with more obſtinacy than the *Turks*; He therefore confers with the Captain touching the Affair, obviating alſo the difficulties which the Captain believed were not Invincible, and after ſeveral days of ſecret Conference he leaves *Naples* abruptly, and in an Equipage that betrayed both great haſte and fear; the Vice-King diſpatches People in his purſuit to all Quarters, but the way he had taken, with Order to take him dead or alive; his Wife and Children were from that day taken into Cuſtody and treated with all appearing Cruelty, his eſtate became confiſcate, and

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the Dukes diſpleaſure thundred with ſo much fury that the whole City of *Naples* was ſurprized notwithſtanding their long acquaintance with his violent temper: and now the Captain appearing alſo no leſs enraged than the Duke, gave an eaſie Argument for the Peoples belief of the Miſunderſtanding, who believed he had practiſed ſomething againſt the *Spaniſh* Intereſt; or that of the Dukes Deſigns in particular. In the mean time he returns to his firſt retreat; the Duke of *Savoy* was at that time in a declared War with *Spain*, and was famed for one of the moſt generous men of that age: and albeit he had publiſht his diſpleaſure at the Captains leaving his protection for a retreat in *Sicily*; yet that did not diſcourage his preſenting himſelf at the Dukes feet, to whom he made many falſe reports of Deſigns of the Vice-King againſt the Republick of *Venice*, full of imaginary Horror, but without any manner of agreement with the true purpoſe, and that believing he could not with honor engage therein, he had meditated his and his families eſcape from *Naples*: But having notice that the Vice-Roy had received Intelligence of his purpoſe, he had been conſtrained to fly in that miſerable Equipage to eſcape his fury, and to abandon all that was dear to him in the world to the diſpoſition of the moſt cruel man living: the Duke of *Savoy* was touched with

with pity at the Melancholy recital,& received him with open arms; He told the Corſair that his Intereſts being ſtraitly twiſted with thoſe of the Republick,he thought himſelf accomptable for the Service he had rendred to their common Intereſt, in caſe the *Venetians* ſhould be cold in their Acknowledgements; He alſo added, that it imported that the Senate ſhould be inſtructed from his own Mouth of the Deſigns of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, and after having exhorted him in a couragious ſupporting his affliction, having equipt him with all neceſſaries, and made him a noble preſent,diſpatcht him towards *Venice* with his Letters of Credence and Recommendation. The *Venetians* were not leſs affected than the Duke of *Savoy*, the flight, the tears, the poverty, the deſpair, the abilities, the exploits, the hopes that he would draw to them that great number of brave men that he had conducted to the Duke of *Oſſuna's* Service; but above all the Deſigns he revealed of that Dukes which he had invented as plauſible as was neceſſary, all theſe circumſtances ſpoke ſo Eloquently in his favour,that they immediately gave him the Command of a Ship. Howbeit *Contarine* the Ambaſſador at *Rome* did remonſtrate, that in conſideration of his coming from the Vice-Roy, he was by no means to be truſted; but fear having wrought in the Spirits of the *Venetians*, the

the uſual effect of Belief, ſtopt their Ears to that prudent Advice. 'Twas not long er'e the Fleet put out to Sea, and the Captain, who conſidered of what Importance it was to ſignalize himſelf, took ſo many Prizes upon ſeveral Commiſſions he had received to purſue them; that upon his return from that Expedition they added eleven Sayl of Ships to that he had. Of theſe happy ſucceſſes he gave an Account to the Duke of *Oſſuna*, finiſhing his Diſcourſe in theſe words. If theſe *Pantaleons* proved in their eaſy Faith, as they have begun; I dare aſſure your Excellency, my Lord, that I ſhall loſe no Time in this Country. He writ alſo at the ſame time to his ſeveral Comrades he had left at *Naples*, to draw them to that Service; which he found no difficulty to debauch; the Vice-King, upon his Flight, feigning to hold them all in ſuſpicion, Treating them now as ill as before he had been kind: He made alſo great complaint of the Republiques protecting the Captain, and in Revenge, gave Sanctuary to ſeveral of the *Uſcocks* that the *Venetians* had chaſed from their Habitations. By Virtue of his Protection, they began a Trade of Privateering; took a great Veſſel bound from *Corfu* to *Venice*, and ſold their Booty publickly under his Standard; He violated the freedom of Ports, and made very conſide-

rable Reprizals upon very ſlender Motives, and diſputed the Orders he received from *Spain* for Reſtitution of what he had Seized; and publiſht a Manifeſt to juſtify his Diſobedience. He ſent alſo a great Fleet to Cruize in the *Adriatique*, and cauſed to enter in Triumph into *Naples* the Prizes that were made upon the *Venetians*. In brief, he ruined their Commerce at the coſt of the *Neapolitans* themſelves, who were intereſſed, and the Farmers of the Revenue of that Kingdom; offering to make complaint thereof, he forbade them on pain of Death. There being no declared War between Spain and the Republique, the *Venetians* became juſtly aſtoniſhed at a proceeding ſo irregular: the Major part imputed it only to the bare extravagance of the Duke of *Oſſuna*; but the Wiſer ſort, who knew there was nothing of ſo important Uſe as the dexterous and politick management of ſuch People, had deeper conjectures, and that the *Spaniard* ſerved himſelf of the Capricio's of the Duke, in order to ſuch proceedings, as they would neither avow or maintain.

His Familiar diſcourſes were, Surprizing of the Ports in *Iſtria* belonging to the Republique, Pillaging their Iſlands, and alſo, if it were Practicable, to make a deſcant even upon the City of *Venice*, the Deſign whereof he

he diſcourſed among his Courtiers, he cauſed exact Draughts to be made of the Works about it; alſo the Building of ſeveral Barks, Brigantines, and other ſmall Veſſels, proper for all ſorts of Channels: variety of Experiments were alſo made, to diſcover what weight each depth of Water could ſuſtain, & he invented every day new Engines to diminiſh the weight and facilitate the motion. The *Venetian* Reſident at *Naples* punctually accounted hereof to the great deſpair of the Marqueſs of *Bedamar*, who began to repent him of having joyned himſelf with ſo weak a Man: But the iſſue undeceived him. The Vice-Roy proceeding with all this Pomp and Noiſe, gave the *Venetians* cauſe to conſider him in ridicule; even their Wiſeſt Senators could by no means imagine, that any ſolid ſecret could be masked under the diſguize of ſo much Appearance and Publicity. The Duke continued his preparations with the ſame Vigor, whilſt no body took the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion; and the ſame Indiſcretion that was held ruinous to the Enterprize, did more advance it than all the caution and circumſpection of the Marquis of *Bedamar*. Howbeit, the Marquis judged it neceſſary to haſten the Execution, either from a reaſon of not giving the *Venetians* leiſure to make Reflections, or from the hazard to which his per-

ſon was daily expoſed. The *Venetian* Fleet having upon an Expedition offered Battle to the *Spaniards*, which refuſing, they plundered the Coaſt of *Apulia*; this ſucceſs begat ſo inſolent a Joy among the baſer people, That, but for the Protection of the Guards that were ſent in his favour, they had aſſaſſined the Ambaſſador with his whole Family. About the ſame time he received News from the Camp before *Gradiſque*, which Relieved him upon that accident; *Renault* adviſing him that he found their Spirits ſo happily diſpoſed, that the Negotiation was ſpeedily effected. The Ambaſſador had ordered him to viſit *Milan* before his return, where *Don Pedro* received him with all the Careſſes great Men practiſe for the amuſement of ſuch as Sacrifice themſelves in their Service: They concluded together, That it would much Import them to take poſſeſſion of ſome Town in the Continent at the ſame time they ſhould ſurprize *Venice*, which ſhould be a Bridle on the other Towns, ſerve as a place of Arms to the Spaniſh Army that ſhould March againſt them; and be a checque to that of the *Venetians*, in Caſe they ſhould appear for their Relief. *Renault* Travelled through their Towns of chief importance, and ſojourned ſome time at *Crema*, in Order to the forming a Faction in that Garriſon; which he effected, and by means

means of a French Lieutenant, named *Jean Berard*, an *Italian* Captain, and an Enſign that was a *Provencal*, one that *Don Pedro* had already gained: Theſe three engaged to receive 500 *Spaniards* into the Town, and without giving the leaſt Jealouſy to the Governour, who was a *Venetian*; and to conceal them for the ſpace of eight days.

*Renault*, on ſerious debate upon the place, concluded, That with that number of Men, the Deſign was infallible; there being nothing to do, but to cut the Throats of a miſerable Garriſon, that had been drawn out of the Country-Militia: all the Regular Troops of the Republique, being either in the Towns in *Fryol*, or upon Service in their Armies.

The Duke of *Oſſuna* had made the Marqueſs *de Bedamar* of Opinion, That it would be neceſſary alſo, to make themſelves Maſters of ſome *Venetian* Port upon the *Gulph*, whereby to render the *Uſcocks* and the Arch-Duke, more Serviceable; and to be a retreat to the *Spaniſh*-Fleet, in Caſe any adverſe accident ſhould neceſſitate them to ſeek a Port in thoſe Seas, after they ſhould be engaged. To this purpoſe they made choice of *Maran*, a ſtrong Town upon an Iſland confining upon *Iſtria*, and that had a Port capable to receive a great Fleet. An *Italian*, by name *Mazza*, that hadbeen a Serjeant-Major there, forthe ſpace

of 40 years, and had authority almoſt equal to the Governors, promiſed the Dukes Emiſſary in Conſideration of a conſiderable ſum of mony and the Command of the Place, to kill the Governor upon his firſt Order, and make himſelf Maſter of the Place for the Service of the *Spaniards*.

This Deſign was as feaſible, as to engage in it: The Governor, who was the Commiſſary *Lorenzo Theophilo*, lived with him in great familiarity; and, whereas the charge of Commiſſary gave him much buſineſs upon that Frontier in time of War, he confided intirely on the Serjeant-Major, touching whatſoever had relation to matters within the Garriſon, as being the moſt experienced and able Officer upon the place. Affairs being ripened to this Pitch, the Ambaſſador thought it now high time, to fall upon finiſhing his peice; not but that more time might give him leiſure to add ſtill maturer degrees to the meaſures he had taken, but he alſo knew, That there was nothing ſo fatal as delay, in Affairs of that nature.

'Tis impoſſible that all the different means that conſpire to the proſperity of an Enterprize ſhould be aſcendent in one and the ſame moment; ſome change their Poſitions, whilſt others are preparing; and whoſoever is once ſo happy as to be able to unite a ſufficient number

number, it is a moſt capital error not to improve the critical minute of ſo precious a conjuncture. It highly concerned the honour of the Crown of *Spain*, that the Ambaſſador might not be convicted of having had the leaſt hand in the Enterprize, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry; in contemplation whereof he reſolved to diſcover himſelf to none of the Conſpirators but *Renault* and the Captain: Nor had theſe two any Knowledg of each other; they never waited on the Ambaſſador but by his own Order, and he was always careful to appoint their Attendance, ſo as to avoid encountering; by which, had they chanced to be detected, it would have been much to his advantage that they had no underſtanding together.

Upon this Conſideration, he could have been well content that they ſhould manage their buſineſs apart, without the leaſt cognizance each of other, as they had hitherto proceeded; but upon more deliberate thoughts he became convinced, that it was impoſſible; and deſpairing utterly of ſucceſs in his Enterprize, but by a perfect Union and Friendſhip between them, he reſolved to overcome that difficulty, how hard ſoever it appeared. Albeit they were both men of Courage and Diſcretion; *Renault* valued himſelf principally upon the Conductive part, and to have ſo

methodized his buſineſs, that the Execution was moſt practicable, and the ſucceſs Infallible.

The Captain on the other hand, being a perſon of more Youth and Vigour, ſtudied eſpecially to appear a Man of great Execution, and capable of acquitting him of the higheſt Reſolutions. To him the Marqueſs revealed the ſeveral Negotiations of *Renault*; his Experience, that furniſht him with Expedients againſt all accidents; his Eloquence and Addreſs, in Order to the acquiring new Partizans; his skill in Correſpondence, ſo very uſeful in ſuch Negotiations, wherein it was of ſo great importance to be continually inſtructed in the State of their Fleet, Provinces, and Armies; and That he concluded ſuch a Perſon would prove of very great ſatisfaction to the Captain, he being a Man of years and great Experience, who wanted neither 'Courage nor Conſtancy; howbeit, his Age and Profeſſion claiming more of the Councellor than the Soldier, rendred him uncapable of ſharing with the Captain any part of the Glory of the Execution. As to *Renault*, he told him only, That the Captain was a Creature of the Duke of *Oſſuna's* which Duke being to be the Principal Sharer in the Deſign, there could be no reaſonable pretence to conceal any thing from his Confident; he conjured him therefore

therefore to condeſcend to the behaviour of the *Corſair*, as far forth as might be conſiſtent with their purpoſe, and to treat him with all the Reſpect and Artifice as was neceſſary to acquire the love of a Man of Action, fierce and preſumptuous to the higheſt degree.

The Marquis of *Bedamar* having thus laboured to diſpoſe theſe two Men to a friendly underſtanding, was much aſtoniſhed when he ſaw them embrace each other with Teſtimonies of extream Affection, upon the very inſtant of their Interview.

There is no Conſtancy or Preſence of mind ſo intire, that yields not to ſome imperfect reaſonings upon Objects extreamly ſurpriſing. The firſt judgment the Ambaſſador made, was, that he had been betrayed; for it having been his great care to hinder the Conference of theſe two Men, he could not comprehend upon what Motive they ſhould conceal from him their acquaintance together: But this Myſtery was ſoon revealed when he came to underſtand, That their acquaintance aroſe from their having often encountred at a famous *Greek* Courtizan's Houſe, a Woman of extraordinary merit for one of her profeſſion, whereof there could not be a greater Inſtance, than by her ſo religiouſly concealing the ſecret they had enjoyned her to make of each others Name.

This

This exactneſs of hers appeared alſo ſo much the more extraordinary by how much ſhe was not ignorant that they had conceived a reciprocal eſteem one of the other. The Ambaſſador perfectly recovered of his Surprize, was raviſht to find ſo ſtrict a Union, where he ſo much wiſht it: they avowed upon entring into converſation, That they had reſpectively deſign'd to engage each other in the Enterprize.

Having their thoughts continually agitated about this their Project, they happened ſome times amidſt their entertainments at this *Greeks* to fall upon Diſcourſes of matters of that nature, talking of the Affairs of the Times, of State, and War; which they did without making any diſcovery, or indeed without the leaſt purpoſe thereof; howbeit, they both confeſt ingeniouſly, in the preſence of the Ambaſſador, That the warmth of their Debates had often tranſported them too far, and given too much Teſtimony of their Sentiments. The Ambaſſador intreated them thereupon, to make good uſe of that Reflection, for their greater Circumſpection in the future, and collect from that Experiment, That to keep a great Affair truly ſecret, it is not ſufficient either not to ſay, or do any thing that may have the leaſt relation thereto, but even to endeavor to forget our own Impreſſions thereof.

*Renault*

*Renault* proceeded to obſerve, That, ſince the rumours of Peace, that revived again about the Month of *June*, the *Venetian* Officers had very ill treated the Forreign Troops; who, had they not been reſtrained by the Authority of *Count Naſſaw*, which dyed about that time, they had rendred but an ill Account of their Service before *Gradiſque*; That the *Venetian* General, who had a yet worſe Opinion of them than they deſerved, had ſeparated them upon Poſts, the moſt diſtant he could chooſe; That this Precaution had publiſht the diffidence they had of their Fidelity, and put them into mutiny; and having inſolently refuſed to execute certain Orders of the Senate, the General had thought it his Duty to put to Death the principal Mutineers; That he had confin'd their Officers at *Padua*, and diſtributed the reſt into divers places of *Lombardy*, until they ſhould be able to pay them, and the Ratification of the Treaties ſhould permit their diſmiſſion. *Renault* added, That the Lieutenant of the *Count de Naſſaw*, who was one of the principal of thoſe with whom he had dealt, had been confined at *Breſcia*, and that he had laid a Deſign, by virtue whereof he would be able to deliver that Town into *Don Pedro's* poſſeſſion: And that it was neceſſary to reſolve firſt upon this particular Affair; for that the Lieutenants Letters

preſ-

preſſed for a deciſive Anſwer. The Ambaſſa-
dor replyed, That it would not be neceſſary t
give any Alarum on that ſide, before the
were Maſters of *Venice:* Moreover, the
ſhould not have occaſion for more than on
place in *Lombardy*; That they were ſure o
*Crema*, and that any other Enterprize woul
but divide their Forces; That hitherto the
had entertained thoſe they had gained at thei
own Devotion, but that they reſpited the Ex
ecution upon various pretexts, and rather tha
expoſe themſelves by the leaſt noiſe, 'twould b
better wholly to decline that Propoſition

*Renault* replyed, That beſide that Lieute
nant, he had dealt with three *French* Gentle
men, by Name, *Durand*, Serjeant-Major o
*Lieveſtines* Regiment, *Brainville* and *Brabe*
alſo with a *Savoyard*, named *Ternon*, that hac
been at the *Eſcalade* of *Geneva*, a *Hollande*
named *Theodore*; one *Revillido*, an *Italian*
Engineer; two other *Italians* that had for-
merly had employment in the *Arſenal*, named
*Lewis de Villa Mezzana*, Captain of Light
Horſe, and *William Retroſi*, Lieutenant and
Captain *Honorat* in *Patma*: That he had
judged it neceſſary to open himſelf without
reſerve to theſe nine Perſons, who he had
choſen, with ſuch Caution, that he would
pawn himſelf for their Fidelity; That during
his abode in the Camp they had gained above

two

two hundred Officers; That to theſe Officers he only intimated, that the Ambaſſador had ordered him to endeavour to be ready in *Venice* to reſcue his Excellency from the fury of the People, whenſoever he ſhould have occaſion: That ſince his return, he had received advice of the juſt number of Men, they might rely upon; and that they did not proceed, but upon methods very certain: That they depend on two thouſand at the leaſt of the Troops of *Leiveſtein*, beſides three hundred of thoſe of *Naſſaw*; and that their Officers were all ready to depoſite their Perſons as Hoſtages for their Fidelity: That at the begining of the Negotiation, they had flattered their Soldiers with the hopes of leading them upon ſome Expedition, when they ſhould be diſmiſt the Service of the Republick, which ſhould abundantly recompence the miſeries they had ſuſtained: That it was not to be ſuſpected that the ſingularity of the Enterprize would diſcourage them, whenſoever it ſhould be neceſſary to publiſh it; That they were incenſt to that degree againſt the Senate, upon the ſcore of the ignominious Treatment they had received, that he did avow, that ſingle reaſon was ſufficient to incite them to any feaſible Deſign for their Revenge: But that however, for better concealment, they would not declare, if they thought it fit, until matters were ſo ad-

advanced that there would be ſcarce any doubt of the ſucceſs; and that, upon the Reſolution they had taken of expoſing the City to be Plundered, there would not be found one ſingle Perſon ſcrupulous of enriching himſelf, by a way ſo ſure and ready, and of ſpending the reſt of his Life in eaſe and plenty.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, from the firſt thoughts he had conceived of this Enterprize, reſolvedby nó means to engage but upon a ſure proſpect of much more means than would be neceſſary to the effecting it; and that theſe alſo ſhould be ſo independent and diſingaged, that the failure of either ſhould in no ſort influence the remaining Expedients: hereupon he omitted not to take his meaſures with the Duke of *Oſſuna*, for a ſupply of Men, albeit he was in no doubt of *Don Pedro's* complement, or of *Renaults* ſucceſs, in his underſtanding with the *Hollanders* Officers. He having treated upon each of theſe three Points with ſuch proſpect of ſecurity, as implyed not the leaſt Aſſurance from either two, and as though they were to reſult in three different Enterprizes.

It now imported to know preciſely in what time the Duke of *Oſſuna* would be able to put into *Venice* the Men he demanded; but that Duke not always taking ſo certain meaſures as to beget an implicite relyance on a naked Promiſe in a matter of ſo great importance as well

well as difficulty, it became needful to diſpatch a Perſon that ſhould be capable to Judge upon the place, how far he was able to comply with his word. The Captain could not be abſent from *Venice* unremarkt, and *Renaults* preſence was indiſpenſably neceſſary; they therefore reſolved *Bribe* ſhould be their Envoy, one of the *French* Gentlemen, with whom *Renault* had negotiated at *Friol*: But this Gentleman having received Commiſſion from the Republick to raiſe Soldiers during his preparation for his Journey, they concluded it of more uſe that he ſhould proſecute that Imployment, and reſolved upon one *Laurence Nolot*, a *French Comptoi'r*, the ſaid Captains Comrade, who departed upon *Newyears* day 1618. The Marquis of *Bedamar* thought it alſo now high time to explain himſelf with the *Spaniſh* Council; To anticipate therefore their own demand of being enlightned in the Affair, he ſends them his Project the moſt intelligible and circumſtantiat he was able: And whereas he was well acquainted with the ſlow deliberations of that Court, he proteſted, by a ſpecial diſpatch to the Duke of *Lerma*, that he would have an Anſwer ſpeedy and deciſive; and that the danger in which he was, made it juſt to explain himſelf in thoſe abſolute terms; and that in caſe they detained his Courier above eight days, he would interpret the retardment

tardment as an Order wholly to deſiſt. He receiv-
ved an Anſwer within the time he demanded,
howbeit not ſo full & determinate as he hoped:
They ſignified that in caſe he ſhould incur dan-
ger by delay, that then he might proceed; but, if
it were poſſible, they paſſionately deſired to
have firſt before them a faithful and ample
State of the Republick. The Ambaſſador
being prepared for that Subject, was not long
in providing a Relation ſo exquiſite, that the
the *Spaniards* called it the Maſter-piece
of their Politicks. It was not known upon
what Deſign he framed it; howbeit, ſuch as
have ſeen it find nothing therein that is not ad-
juſted to the Deſign. It begins with an Elo-
quent complaint of the difficulty of that Work
by reaſon of the profound ſecrecy of the Go-
vernment he was to deſcribe; he then falls
upon encomiums of that Government; but
the Elogy he made, regarded more the firſt
Age of the Republick, than the preſent State.
From their praiſes he falls upon a general Diſ-
courſe, equally ſad and elegant, of the de-
plorable Condition of humane things, where-
of the moſt excellent are moſt incident to
Corruption; ſo the wiſeſt Laws of that State
by the abuſe they had ſuffered, had been the
Original Cauſes of its preſent Deformity:
That, that of her Laws, which intirely ex-
cludes the people from cognizance in Affairs,
had

had introduced a Tyranny of the Nobles; and that which ſubjected the Eccleſiaſtical Power to the Cenſure of the Soveraign Magiſtrate, was the foundation of that looſneſs of the People of *Venice* in relation to the Court of *Rome*, ſince the conteſt of the Republick with that Court: He Illuſtrates that looſneſs by the Impiety it was reported the *Hollanders* committed with impunity in *Fryol*; and particularly declaims againſt their having buried a Perſon of Quality of their Nation, named *Reynold Brederode*, in the Church of the *Servites* of *Venice*, notwithſtanding he was a *Calviniſt*. In that Article he takes occaſion gravely to tax *Fra. Paoblo*, without mention of his Name, for that it was he that inſpired the Senate with that Reſolution. He wondred how the People, being no longer tyed to their Obedience to their Prince by the Obligations of Religion, violated ſo many ways to their Faces, could yet ſupport the dreadful Vexations they lay under. He minutely repreſented their Grievances, and without exaggeration made them appear intolerable. He proceeded to diſcover to them, That neither the Honour nor the Lives of the People were leſs at the diſcretion of their Maſters than their Eſtates; and that the Genious of the Nation being led as it was to Luſt, Avarice, and Revenge, it is no wonder if thoſe that live under a Go-

vernment of that nature ſhould be oppreſt by their Maſters. In fine, he examined the State of their Senate, of their Provinces, and Armies. In their Senate he remarkt Faction, and Diviſion; he ſcrupled not to obſerve to them the diſcontents of many of their Nobles; he repreſented the deſolation of ſome of their Provinces by the Cruel War with the *Uſcocks*, and the poverty of others by contributing to their Succor: That they had not three Officers paid in any of their Garriſons of *Lombardy*, and that the Republick preſerved her Authority from the only reaſon of no bodies moving to uſurp it. As to their Armie, he made a faithful Relation of the ſeveral Mutinies in that by Land; and how they had diſperſed the Factious in ſo great numbers, that the remainder was not to be conſidered but as a Rabble of an uſeleſs miſerable Militia, without either Courage, Experience or Diſcipline. As to their Naval Forces, they were become of late the Sanctuary of all the moſt infamous Pyrates of the *Mediterranean*; People unworthy the Name of Soldiers, and of whoſe Service the Republick could no longer make any account, than whilſt they wanted power to be able to turn their Arms againſt her ſelf.

After having made this deſcription with ſuch Beauty of Language, and with ſo marvelous

velous a vigour of Expreſſion, he examined what judgment ought to be made thereupon of the future State of that Republick, her Fortune, and Duration; and made it evident, and deducible from the principles he had laid down, that it was now languiſhing; and that the Diſeaſe was ſuch as admitted no *Criſis* or amendment of the preſent Conſtitution, but by an intire reformation.

Upon this Relation, the Council of *Spain* ſet the Marquis of *Bedamar* at intire Liberty to proceed, without tying him up to any Inſtructions: And now *Nolots* delay, who was not yet returned, was the only clog to the buſineſs; and the Ambaſſador could not forgive himſelf the error he had committed in expoſing an Affair of that Nature to the *Capricio* of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, in whoſe temper ſo ancient an Experience ought to have inſtructed him: delay being mortal in the preſent conjuncture.

After the *Spaniards* had taken *Verſel*, *Gradiſque* became extreamly ſtraitned by the *Venetians*; and the Council of *Spain* found no expedient for its Safety but the renewing propoſitions of Peace: There was therefore publiſht by Agreement at *Madrid*, a Writing containing the principal Articles; but the continual diſorders of the Duke of *Oſſuna* obliged the *Venetians* to revoke the Powers

they had given their Ambaſſador, and to transfer the Negotiation to *France*, where the Death of the *Mareſhal d'Ancre*, had given them greater Hopes of Favour.

The Peace was at length concluded the 6th of *September*, and the Governor of *Milan* held Conference ſome time after with *Count Bethune* at *Pavia*, in Order to the Execution thereof, in Relation to the Duke of *Savoy*: But at the ſame time the Governor omittednot to moleſt the *Venetians*, taking ſeveral places of theirs in *Lombardy*; whereof they made general complaint, and were making greater preparations for War than ever, until the Marquis of *Bedamar* complemented them upon the Peace in full Senate, and promiſed punctual Exeeution of the reſpective Articles: which he did, not ſo much in Obedience to his Orders from *Spain*, as from a willingneſs to wipe out thoſe Ill Impreſſions the Senate had taken of him in Relation to things paſt: Upon which conſideration he acquitted himſelf of that Duty with all the Ardour and Demonſtrations of Joy and Friendſhip imaginable; and the *Venetians*, that but too much wiſht what he had promiſed, blindly acquieſce and accord to a Suſpenſion of Arms; which ſuſpenſion was a cutting blow of the *Spaniards*, and the Maſter-piece of their Ambaſſador. *Cradiſque* was at that time ſtraitned to a degree

gree of not being able to hold out fifteen days, and in the mean time Hoſtilities were yet to continue for the ſpace of two Months; which time was Judged ſufficient to perfect all Ratifications, and to diſpoſe things for Execution of the Treaty. It was a point of great Importance that the Town ſhould not yield within that ſpace; The Suſpenſion therefore put it out of danger. And now the *Spaniards*, whoſe Motive not being ſo ſtrong to preſs the Execution of the Treaty, were at Liberty to protract and ſpin out the time as ſhould beſt ſuit with their Deſigns: Howbeit, the Duke of *Oſſuna*, compelled by Orders from *Madrid*, and at the Popes Inſtance, offered ſome ſhort time after, to make Reſtitution of the Veſſels he had taken; but for their Merchandize, he knew not how it had been diſpoſed of; notwithſtanding at the ſame time they were expoſed to Sale before the Face of the *Venetian* Reſident, and a powerful New Fleet was at the ſame time fitted out to Cruize in the *Adriatick*. The Senate hereupon would have made complaint to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, which he anticipated by much greater of his own; declaring that he could not be accountable for the Actions of the Duke of *Oſſuna*; and That the King himſelf, their Maſter, would not avow them; That amidſt ſo many Favours and kind Treatments, he received du-

ring his Miniſtry at *Venice*, The only diſpleaſure he had conceived, was to find that they imputed the Conduct and Behaviour of that Duke wholly to his Counſels; wherein he never had the leaſt Share: That from the ſlendereſt remarks upon the Duke of *Oſſuna* might be eaſily collected, That he had no other Guide than his own *Capricio*; And as for his own part, they might alſo make a Judgment of his Temper and Diſpoſition, from the Peaceable proceedings of the Governor of *Milan*, of whoſe preferment he gloried to have been the Author.

It is true, That Governor exactly obſerved the Suſpenſion; howbeit, he continued ſtill in Arms, which to render the more plauſible, he judged it needful to contrive new Diſputes with the Duke of *Savoy* on pretext that the Troops diſmiſt by that Prince, were ſtill detained in the Country of *Vaux*, to attend there the compleat Execution of the Treaty; *Don Pedro* therefore refuſed to the *Count de Bethune* to diſarm, as had been accorded at *Pavia*; He alſo obliged the Duke of *Mantua* to the ſame Reſolution, as far as it depended on him. The *Count de Bethune* publiſht a Proteſt againſt the m, and upon their refuſal retired: Which Proteſt was Anſwered by the Marquis of *Bedamar*, in the moſt colourable Terms he could invent.

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It may eaſily be judged by theſe Occurrences of how much importance it was to haſten towards Execution, it being ſo difficult to preſerve Affairs in a poſture which gave ſo fair a promiſe of ſucceſs.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Oſſuna* had not diſpatcht *Nolot*; and the Ambaſſador on the point of deſpair, ſent him Inſtructions to diſcover by all means poſſible, what ſhould be the Cauſe; which in the End came to be underſtood.

Some time after the Captain had been entertained in the *Venetian* Service, the Duke, who would be inſtructed in the Affairs of *Venice* by variety of Methods, diſpatcht after him an *Italian*, by Name *Alexander Spinoſa*, who was to be a Spy on all Occurrences, and being a Stranger, was ſoon taken into Employment amongſt the Crowd of other Soldiers of Fortune that demanded it. He had a ſtrong belief, that the Duke had ſome great Enterprize in Deſign, but did not ſuſpect that the *Corſair* had been the Conductor of the Project: Howbeit, he doubted whether the Dukes diſpleaſure lay ſo heavy on him as the World believed. Upon *Spinoſa's* Arrival at *Venice*, he had offered to the Vice-King to Ponyard the Captain, which the Vice-King refuſed, from the danger he would run in the Execution. *Spinoſa* was a Man of Wit, and being ac-

quainted with the Duke, Judged, That in Caſe he had no ſtronger Motive of refuſal, the hazard of one Mans Life could be no retardment to his Revenge: Nevertheleſs the Duke gave him in Charge to obſerve the Actions of the *Corſair*; which he did either to amuſe *Spinoſa*, or that the Vice-King was of thoſe that intirely confided in no body, and was willing to mark, how far *Spinoſa's* Account of the Captain, agreed with the Captains own Letters.

*Spinoſa* the better to acquit him of his Commiſſion, mixes himſelf with ſeveral *French* Men he had formerly known at *Naples*, and much frequented the Captain at *Venice*: Theſe being of the Conſpiracy, rendred an exact Account to the Captain of *Spinoſa's* Diſquiſitions upon his Conduct; They alſo diſcovered, that this Spy traced ſome Deſign of his own, and was debauching People into the Service of the Duke of *Oſſuna*.

The Captain was in great Indignation, that the Duke ſcrupled to have an intire confidence in him; howbeit, was not at all ſurprized: He only conſidered that in caſe *Spinoſa* ſhould continue to Cabal, unleſs they had an underſtanding together, he could infeeble their Party by dividing it, and there would be no prudent declaring himſelf to one that had Commiſſion to be a Spy upon him.

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The Marquis of *Bedamar*, and *Renault*, Judged alſo that they could not ſpare much time in providing a remedy to this Inconvenience, and after mature Conference upon the point, concluded there could be no ſecurity for them, but in *Spinoſa's* Death: He was one that would ſell his Life dear, in Caſe of an Attempt to aſſaſſin him; his Profeſſion keeping him in a continual Poſture of defence; And the Captain was at laſt reduced to impeach him to the Council of Ten, as a Spy of the Duke of *Oſſuna's*, after having eſſayed in vain all other means for his deſtruction.

The *French* Men with whom he had had Converſation, framed their Depoſitions ſo Judiciouſly, and Circumſtantially, that he was apprehended, and privatly Strangled the ſame day; all that he could exhibit to the Judges, in prejudice of the Captain, being invalid, as proceeding from his Accuſer, and not being able to prove any thing he depos'd.

This Affair exceedingly augmented the Captains Reputation with the *Venetians*, but was a ſenſible Affliction to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, as being a uſeful intimation to them to obſerve more ſtrictly the Conduct of the Strangers entertained in their Service.

The Duke of *Oſſuna* learnt *Spinoſa's* Death upon *Nolot's* Arrival at *Naples*, and was not long in gueſſing at the Author. The diſpleaſure

pleaſure he conceived thereat, was expreſt in his reſentment to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, that he had not given him ſome advice thereupon; and the divers Reflections this accident created in his Spirit, reduced him to Terms of the greateſt uncertainty what to reſolve on. In the mean time the Troops of *Leiveſtein* having mutined anew, were by Order of the Senate, led to the *Lazaretto* about two Miles from *Venice* in the beginning of *February*. The Marquis of *Bedamar*, fearing they might come to an accord with the Republick touching their Pay, and that thereupon they ſhould be compelled to depart, wrought with ſome of their Officers, that they ſhould refuſe the Terms were then offered them, to improve the favourable occaſion of the vicinity of theſe Troops.

*Nolot* was charged by an Expreſs, to repreſent to the Vice-King, that within the Term of that Month, they ſhould have near 5000 Men at their Devotion.

*Nolot* forgot nothing of his Duty, but the Vice-King, who had not yet perfectly digeſted his Choler, amuſed him ſo long, that after ſix weeks expectation, the Officers fearing leſt the Soldiers ſhould be reduced by their ill Accommodation, to Treat without them; came themſelves to an Agreement by conſent of the Conſpirators, who could find no Expedient

Expedient to prevent it. Ten days after *Nolot* arrived with the Dukes Reſolution, ſuch as they could wiſh, but addreſt to *Robert Brulard*, one of the Captain's Comrades; but the Ambaſſador and the Captain being vigorouſly intent upon the Iſſue of their Intrigue, expreſt not the leaſt Concern at the Affront the Duke did them in that Addreſs. He adviſed, That he was now able whenſoever they ſhould deſire it, to ſupply them with Barks, Brigantines & other ſmall Veſſels, adjuſted to the Ports and Channels of *Venice*, and in number capable to receive 6000 Men if it were needful: *Nolot* had viewed the Troops and Veſſels, which were all in a ready Poſture, and the Captain Ordered the Sounding of the ſeveral Depths of Water in the Ports and Channels that were to Conduct them to the Place of St. *Mark*, where they were to Land: for he having ſtore of Seamen at his Devotion, by reaſon of his Command, they without ſuſpicion, had free Paſſage to and fro through the ſeveral Channels as often as they pleaſed; by which means it was very eaſy to take all neceſſary Meaſures moſt exactly. There only now reſted how to prevent the departure of *Lieveſteins* Troops, which to effect, there was no want of Money; the rigour alſo of the Seaſon, was a reaſonable colour for their delay; the greateſt part remained ſtill at the

*Lazaretto*,

*Lazaretto*, and ſuch as had embarkt befor *Nolot's* Arrival, were entertained in ſeven places at hand.

To relieve *Renault* and the Captain, amid the Cares of this buſineſs (which now grew too heavy for them to ſupport) it was concluded neceſſary, to take in eighteen more at leaſt Men of Courage and Underſtanding, and ſuch on whom they might intirely rely: The compoſed this number, of nine of thoſe with whom *Renault* had dealt at *Friol*, and o the principal of thoſe that the Captain ha invited from *Naples*; they were five Captain of Veſſels like himſelf, *viz. Vincent Robert* o *Marſeilles*, *Laurence Nolot*, and *Robert Brulard* (of whom mention hath been made already) the two laſt *French Comptoi's*, alſo one *Laurence Brulard*, and a Provincal, named *Anthony Jaffier*: there were alſo two Brothers *Lorrainers*, *Charles* and *John Boleau*, and an *Italian* named *John Rizzardo*; (theſe three were excellent *Petardiers*) together with a *French* Man called *Anglade*, who had the Repute of one of the ableſt Fire-Maſters of his time.

The capacity of this laſt was ſo remarkable, that he had quickly obtained Liberty to practice in his Profeſſion in the *Arſenal*, and by that means the two *Petardiers* his Comrades had free Entry: Beſides theſe already menti-

or,

oned, there was one *Villa Mezzana*, and *Retroſi*, who were of thoſe that *Renault* had gained, and that had had imployment in time paſt: Theſe ſix drew ſo exact a Plot of the Deſign, that thoſe that had never been upon the place, might have diſcourſed thereupon as Judiciouſly, as thoſe that Framed it. Theſe received alſo much Aſſiſtance in their Buſineſs, from two Officers of the *Arſenal*, that the Captain had drawn in; they had appeared to him diſſatisfyed with their Imployment; were furniſht with Qualities proper for his Deſign, capable of engaging, if convinced of their Intereſt, and of complying faithfully, with whatſoever they ſhould Promiſe: The Iſſue applauded the Judgment he had made, & he ſo ſeaſoned his Complements to them (which he expreſt on all occaſions with a conſiderable number of *Spaniſh* Piſtols, which he had by him to diſtribute) that they became charmed in a perfect Obedience to all he could command them.

*L'Anglade*, and theſe two, had their Quarters in the *Arſenal*; *Renault* had taken with himſelf to the Ambaſſadors of *France*, three of his Friends, *Bribe*, *Brainville*, and *Laurence Brulard*; the three *Petardiers* remained at the Marquis of *Bedamars*, who furniſhed them with Powder and other Materials and Inſtruments neceſſary to employ them in their Profeſſion,

feſſion, but without ever having any Communication with them: they had already made more *Petards* and Fire-Works, than they ſhould want; and the Ambaſſadors Palace was ſo filled, that it was not capable of Lodging more: The Captain remained at his Ordinary Quarters, but alone, to prevent ſuſpicion in caſe he ſhould be obſerved: And for the reſt, he had lodged them at the Curtizans, where he and *Renault* had their firſt Encounter. The Eſteem and Friendſhip that ſucceded the Love they had had for that Woman, but eſpecially the Knowledg they had of her Adventure, gave them aſſurance they could not make a better Choice: She was of an *Iſland* of the *Greeks*, in the *Archipelago*; and of Condition as Noble as was poſſible in a Country under the Government of *Venice*. He that Commanded there for the Republick, had it ſeems Debaucht her upon ſome great Promiſes, and afterwards cauſed her Father to be aſſaſſined, for endeavouring to oblige him to comply with his Promiſe: The Woman thereupon, tranſported her ſelf to *Venice*, to demand Juſtice of the Murder; but to no purpoſe, and having in the purſuit ſpent the little ſhe had, her Beauty repaired now the miſery it had occaſioned.

People of Noble extraction ſtill form their reſentments proportioned to their Quality, when

when reduced to Profeſſions unworthy their Birth; She therefore became Raviſht upon her firſt notice of the Project of thoſe two Friends, and without reluctancy hazarded all in their Favour, and thereupon ſhe hires one of the largeſt Houſes of the Town, and under colour of ſome Work was firſt to be done, removes but part of her Goods, to the end ſhe might have a reaſonable Pretext of ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of both, being not far aſunder.

It was in theſe two Houſes, that eleven of the Principal Conſpirators had their Reſidence near ſix Months, and as ſhe had freely received Viſits before from whatſoever Pleaſant People, Strangers or *Venetians* occaſionally frequented her Houſe; Yet now, leſt ſo great a concourſe ſhould expoſe her Gueſts to too much Obſervation, for more ſecurity, ſhe feigned her ſelf Indiſpoſed.

Whoſoever has obſerved with what reſpect Women of that Profeſſion are Treated in *Italy*, will eaſily conclude, That her Houſe by this means became moſt obſcure and ſolitary to all that had not buſineſs thither: The Conſpirators never went abroad but by Night, and to the end they might have that at liberty, they held their Aſſemblies by day, in which Aſſemblies *Renault* and the Captain propoſed ſuch matters as had been debated with the Marquis *de Bedamar*, wherein the Opinion of the Com-

Company was conſulted together with their Reſolutions upon the Methods of Executing them.

Whenſoever it imported them to viſit the Ambaſſador, they performed it with all requiſite Circumſpection in a Country and a Conjuncture where Ambaſſadors Houſes were watched and obſerved, as if they had been ſo many Enemies; and this more eſpecially. It had been a ſtanding Reſolution among them, that it would be neceſſary to receive and conceal about a thouſand Men in the City, before they came to Execution; But becauſe it would be dangerous to introduce them with their Arms; The Marquis of *Bedamar* had made Proviſion of Arms for more than 500 Men, nor was there much difficulty in doing this with a perfect ſecurity, in regard Ambaſſadors *Gondola's* were exempt from Viſits of Officers, from whereſoever they ſhould come; and therefore nothing now remained, but a fit occaſion to introduce the 1000 Men into the City without expoſing them to obſervation.

The *Doge Donato* died, and they had choſen in his ſtead, *Anthony Priuli*, whoſe Reſidence was at that time at *Friol*, in Order to the due Execution of the Treaty. The General by Sea had Order to wait upon him with the Naval Army; the Grand Chancellor and Secre-

Secretaries of *State* were to be more early than the reſt in their Addreſſes to preſent him with the *Ducal* Bonnet; Twelve of the Principal Secretaries were to follow as Ambaſſadors of the Republick, every one by himſelf, in a Brigantine Armed and magnificently equipt with a Noble Attendance; The Senate it ſelf was to go in a Body, and receive him far at Sea upon the *Bucentaur*, and Conduct him to the City with all that Pomp: Now becauſe it rarely happens that their Dukes upon their Election are abſent from the City, that Ceremony had drawn together an infinite number of curious People.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, that foreſaw all this, upon the firſt notice of the Election of *Priuli*, ſent *Nolot* a ſecond time to *Naples*, with Order to get diſpatcht in his preſence, & with all poſſible diligence, the Brigantines, *&c.* of the Duke of *Oſſuna*; and to prevent all Colour for delay, The Captain had in Charge to preſent the Duke with an exact Plot or Project of the Execution, and above all, to account to him what had happened at *Venice*, during *Nolots* firſt Voyage.

The Captain therefore refines upon that Precaution, and being willing to deal with the Vice-kings humour, by variety of Methods, repreſented That they had not conceived the leaſt reaſon of Complaint againſt his

Excellency, finiſhing his Addreſs with theſe words:

I accuſe the negligence of *Nolot*, for ſo tedious a delay at *Naples*; for I cannot doubt but if he had made juſt Repreſentation of Affairs, your Excellency had quickned his diſpatch; He muſt needs therefore, have made demand of mony, or ſomething equivalent howbeit, he had expreſs Orders to the Contrary: And I do engage to hold *Venice* yet ſix Months in my Power, if it be neceſſary, to attend your Excellencies great effect; provided, you diſpatch away the Brigantines, upon *Nolots* Arrival, with the 6000 Men you have offered.

This Letter is of the 7th. of *April* being the day of *Nolots* departure.

In the mean time, *Renault* brought into *Venice* all the Officers of the Troops they had gained, that they might Survey the City, and acquaint themſelves with their reſpective Poſts, to the end there might be no diſorder, when they ſhould come to Execution. Before they departed, they had made choice of 1000 Men out of the *Hollands* Troops, to be ready to March at day-break; and that the abſence of this 1000 Men might be leſs remarkable, they cautiouſly pick them out here and there, as they lay diſperſed about the Country: And the better to accommodate this number every

ſingle

ſingle Officer hired what Lodgings he could, without giving occaſion of ſuſpicion, telling their Hoſts they were for Strangers that came to ſee the Solemnity; and as to the Officers, they conceal'd themſelves among the Curtizans, where, upon Terms of good payment, they were more ſecure than they could be elſewhere.

There remained nothing now, but to frame a Scheme of the Execution, which the Marquis of *Bedmar*, *Renault*, and the Captain, concluded together ſhould be as follows.

Upon the cloſe of the Evening, thoſe of the 1000 Soldiers, that were come un-Armed, ſhould repair and furniſh themſelves at the Ambaſſadors; 500 of them ſhould draw up in the place of St. *Mark*, to be headed by the Captain: The beſt part of the remaining five hundred ſhould joyn with *Renault*, near the *Arſenal*; and the reſt ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of all the Barks, *Gondolas*, and other like Veſſels at the *Rialto*; with theſe they ſhould haſten with all diligence to tranſport near 1000 Soldiers more of the Troops of *Leiveſtein*, that were ſtill at the *Lazaretto*: during which Paſſage they ſhould Govern themſelves with all the ſilence imaginable; to the end they might not give the Alarum till that Party ſhould be joyned: Howbeit, in caſe of neceſſity, and that they ſhould perceive th m-

ſelves to be diſcovered, then the Captain ſhould Retrench himſelf in the place of St. *Mark*; *Renault* ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the *Arſenal*, as ſhall be deſcribed: and upon firing two pieces of Canon, (which ſhall be for a Signal to the Brigantines of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, that were to be in readineſs to enter the Port;) The *Spaniards* then ſhould ſupply the want of the Troops that were to be tranſported.

In caſe they ſhould not be obliged to declare during their Paſſage, then, upon the Landing of the *Hollands* Soldiers, at the place of St. *Mark*, the Captain ſhould joyn 500 of thoſe to the 500 he had with him, which the Serjeant-Major *Durand* ſhould command; which 1000 Men ſhould be ranged in Battalia in the place, whilſt the Captain with 200 ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the *Ducal* Palace, and eſpecially of the Armory that was there; as well to furniſh their own Wants, as to prevent the Enemies ſupply. 100 others, under the Conduct of *Bribe*, ſhould make themſelves Maſters of the *Secque*; and another 100 under *Brainville*, of the *Procuratie*, by the Aſſiſtance of a Party they ſhould warily introduce into the *Bell*-Tower the ſame day: Theſe laſt ſhould remain as a Corps of Guard in the Tower, during the Progreſs of the Enterprize, to the End they might not toll the Alarum.

Alarum. The Entries of all the Streets ſhould alſo be defended by Corps of Guard, where they ſhould alſo have Artillery planted to Command the Streets; and till they could be ſupplied out of the *Arſinal*, they ſhould take ſome out of the *Gallyfoiſt* of the Council of Ten, which was near at hand, and would require no difficulty to ſeize.

In all the places they ſurpriz'd, and wherein they placed Corps of Guard, they ſhould put every Man to the Sword; and during theſe divers Methods of Execution, round about St. *Marks* Place, the Serjeant-Major ſhould continue in Battalia in the midſt, with the reſt of the Troops. All this Progreſs ſhall be made with the leaſt noiſe poſſible. Then they may begin to give the *Alarum*, by applying the *Petards* to the Gates of the *Arſenal*: upon which noiſe, the eight Conſpirators, that had laid down the Draught, and that ſhall be within, ſhall apply fire in ſeveral places thereof, by the help of the Artificial Fire-Works they had prepared for that purpoſe at the Ambaſſadors, as they had the *Petards:* and then they ſhall Ponyard the Principal Officers.

Herein there will be no difficulty, in the Confuſion which the Fire and the Noiſe of the *Petards* will bring amongſt them; eſpecially they not being ſuſpected by their Officers.

They ſhall afterwards joyn with *Renault*, upon whoſe Entry, they ſhall put all to the Sword; and the Soldiers then ſhall tranſport the Artillery to the ſeveral places of Importance about the Town. *viz.* at *Arena de Mari*, to the *Fontego de Redeſchi*, to the *Magazins*, to the *Clock-Tower* of the *Procuratie*, to the *Ryalto*, and other Eminencies, from whence they might be able to batter the Town tō Ruines, in caſe of Reſiſtance. Whilſt *Renault* is attempting the *Arſenal*, the Captain ſhall force the Priſon of St. *Mark*, giving Arms to the Priſoners, killing alſo the Principal Senators: and ſuch as are appointed ſhall ſet the Town on Fire in above forty ſeveral Places, the moſt remote one from another that might be, to beget the greater Conſternation.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Oſſuna's* Party of *Spaniards*, having underſtood the Signal which ſhall be given upon Maſtering the *Arſenal*, will Arrive, and Land alſo at the Place of St. *Mark*, diſperſing themſelves immediately into all the Principal Quarters of the City, *viz.* St. *Georges*, the *Jews* Quarter, and others under the Conduct of the nine other head-Conſpirators; whilſt nothing ſhall be Proclaimed but Liberty.

And after Execution of theſe Orders, the Pillage ſhall be free; exempting only Strangers, from whom nothing ſhall be Plundered,

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on pain of Death; refuſing Mercy to none but to ſuch as ſhall reſiſt.

*Nolot* found things in ſo proſperous condition upon his Arrival at *Naples*, That the 6000 Men Embarkt the next day, under Conduct of one *Elliot* an *Engliſh* Man. To prevent all occaſion of Suſpition, the Duke of *Oſſuna* Ordered his great Fleet to fetch a very large Compaſs before they ſtood their true Courſe; but he diſpatcht *Elliot* and the Brigantines by a ſhorter Cut.

Upon the ſecond day of their departure this little Fleet meets with a Squadron of Pyrats of *Barbary*, which attacque them; and they being rather equipt for the convenient Carriage and Accommodation of their Soldiers, than for a Battle, were extreamly preſt by the *Moors* Artillery, whoſe Veſſels were Yarer and better Armed: And notwithſtanding the great numbers of People that were crowded on Board thoſe of *Naples*, much incommoded them in their defence: yet, being all choice *Spaniards*, they would have given the Enemy ſo briſk an Attacque with their Swords, whenſoever they had Boarded, that the Pyrats would poſſibly have repented their having obſtructed their Voyage, but a violent Storm came up and ſeparated them in the heat of their Engagement.

The little Fleet was ſo Shattered, that they would not be in Condition to put to Sea again in ſome time; And the Marquis of *Bedamar*, upon advice hereof, finding he could not prevent the Solemnity they were preparing at *Venice*, aſſiſted there in Perſon, in a more Splendid manner than any body: He proteſted in a full Aſſembly of the Senate, making his Complement to the New Duke, That the particular Joy he had expreſſed at his Exaltation, ſprung from an aſſurance that his Serenity would retain upon the Throne, the ſame favourable inclinations towards the accompliſhment of the Peace he had ſo lately expreſt at *Friol*.

After this Audience, he ſent to *Renault* & the Captain, of whom he immediately demanded if they judged it neceſſary wholly to decline the Enterprize? To which, they replied, That they were not only on the contrary Opinion, but that none of their Companions had diſcovered leſs Conſtancy upon the diſgrace of the Fleet, than if they had Arrived in ſafety; and that they were generally diſpoſed to take all neceſſary meaſures to preſerve their Party in the beſt Poſture, in expectation of ſome more favourable Conjuncture.

The Ambaſſador, who had made this Propoſition with much Reluctancy, upon their Anſwer embraced them with Tears of Joy

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in his Eyes; and told them (with a freedom ſo Emphatical as would have fortified the weakeſt heart, and inſpired with Courage and Bravery the moſt affrighted Spirit) That great Revolutions, which in Vulgar Affairs are Subjects of Surprize, are the Natural and Common Contingencies of extraordinary Enterprizes: That theſe are the only Tryals of our Fortitude; and We are then only capable to conclude our ſelves qualified for great Deſigns, when we have once ſtood the Shock of a Defeat with Conſtancy and Tranquillity. Hereupon, it was reſolved between the Marquis and his two Confidents, That the Execution ſhould be Reſpited until the Feaſt of *Aſcenſion*, which was not far off, and was the greateſt Solemnity of *Venice*: That in the mean time, they ſhould continue the Troops in their reſpective Quarters, by furniſhing them with all the Conveniences they could deſire; and That there ſhould be no want of mony to be diſtributed amongſt the Officers for that purpoſe: That of 300 of them, which were received into *Venice*, they ſhould detain the Principal among them as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of the reſt, and return the inferior Officers to their reſpective Commands; as well to preſerve the Soldiers in their Obedience, as to leſſen the number in the Town; leſt ſo many Officers ſhould miniſter occaſion

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of Suſpicion. That they ſhould provide the the moſt agreeable Entertainments and Diverſions they could for thoſe that remained, for their amuſement: and to the end they might not be at leiſure if it were poſſible to make reflection upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs; That the twenty principal Conſpirators ſhould have a watchful Eye upon their Motions and Behaviour, and to oblige the Republick to conſent to the retardment of the Troops of *Leiveſtein*, & not yet to diſmiſs thoſe of *Naſſaw*. The Governor of *Milan*, and Vice-King of *Naples* forbore to put in Execution the late Treaty of Peace. All that humane Wit could contrive of pretext and apology to oppoſe againſt Reaſon, was ſuggeſted by the Marquis of *Bedamar*, and put in Execution by *Don Pedro*, and the Duke of *Oſſuna*: howbeit, they were conſtrained to make daily ſome advance towards the Peace, in ſpite of their Averſion..

The Council of *Spain* durſt not hazard any thing upon their hopes of ſucceſs in a Tranſaction ſo doubtful, as that of the Conſpiracy. And *France* being reſolved to avow the Treaty of *Paris*, obliged the *Venetians* to agree that the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould diſmiſs the Troops he had detained in the Country of *Vaux*, and that ſerved as a Pretext to *Don Pedro's* ſlow motions. This difficulty being removed,

removed, the Marquis of *Bedamar* thinking to make that Prince to decline Reſtitution of the Places he had taken in *Mountferrat*, cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread, That aſſoon as the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould be reeſtabliſht, he would diſpoſe of that State to the *Spaniards*. At the ſame time *Don Pedro* ſtudies an unreaſonable Quarrel, with a Miniſter of the Duke of *Savoy's* that had accompanied the *French* Ambaſſador to *Milan*, Ordering his departure thence. The Duke, incenſed at this Injury, recals them to his own Court, and thereupon put a ſtop to the reſtoring of the places he poſſeſt: But the Ambaſſadors *obviating* to him, how he was haſtning into the Snare *Don Pedro* had laid for him, prevailed upon him to deliver up at once all the Places he had taken. *Don Pedro* was ſo aſtoniſht at this News, that he was not able to conceal his Surprize, even in his publick Diſcourſes. And hereupon it became neceſſary that he ſhould releaſe his Priſoners, and deliver up the leſſer places; but as touching *Verſeil*, which was the Eſſential Point, he made ſo ſtrange difficulties therein that they threatned him from *Spain* to recal him before the ordinary time. To which he replied, That it would be a diſhonour for him to reſtore that Place during the *French* Ambaſſadors abode at *Milan*, whoſe preſence would ſeem to Awe him to that Com-

Complement; they therefore retire: and he then declares, That the Duke of *Savoy* ought firſt to make Reſtitution for certain Lands that appertained to ſome of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Subjects; thoſe Lands were therefore relinquiſht; but *Verſeil* was not yet reſtored. In Concluſion, *France* being willing to make a Match between *Madam Chriſtina* the Kings Siſter, and the Prince of *Piedmont* (whereupon it was accorded deciſively, touching that Place) *Don Pedro* began now by withdrawing his Ammunition and Artillery he had there, but with moſt incredible protraction.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, injoyning him to a yet greater delay, inſinuated he ſhould exact new Aſſurances of the Duke of *Savoy*, in favour of the Duke of *Mantua*. But the Miniſters themſelves of *Mantua* declared by a *Manifeſto* made publick in writing, That they did not demand thoſe Aſſurances: How ill ſoever the Marquis *Bedamar* reliſht this Declaration, the Conduct of the Duke of *Oſſuna* was much more diſtaſtful to him: for the Duke tired with the clamorous Complaints of the *Venetians* from all Parts, upon his continuing to moleſt the Navigation of the Gulph, and having no other reply to make, Anſwered; That he would not be drawn to deſiſt, whilſt the *Venetians* entertained in their Service, the moſt implacable Enemies of the King his Maſter.

Maſter. 'Tis not hard to make a Judgment by the endeavors of the Ambaſſadour, to detain the *Hollands* Troops (the ſubject of the Dukes Complaint) with what deſpair he learnt this Anſwer of the Duke: He did not doubt but the Senate that courted Peace at any Rate, would diſmiſs them, to leave the Duke without excuſe. But the Iſſue once more deceived the Prudence of the Marquis of *Bedamar*: Some Spirit, indulgent to the extravagancies of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, compelled the *Venetians* to a Reſolution thereupon directly contrary both to their Intereſt and Inclination. It was remonſtrated to the Senate, That the Republick had but too much already betrayed their Inclinations for Peace, in all their proceedings, and which had indeed been the ground of ſo much Phlegme in the *Spaniſh* Miniſters: and if they ſhould be led to accord alſo to this laſt inſtance of the Vice-King, he would be thought to give Laws to *Venice*, and that, inſtead of diſmiſſing the *Hollands* Troops, it imported rather to detain the Troops of *Leiveſtein*, that were upon departure, in Order to the intire Execution of the Articles of Peace.

The Joy the Marquis of *Bedamar* conceived at this Reſolution, was ſomewhat allayed upon the diſcovery of the *Complot* at *Crema*: The Enſign, *Provencal*, and the *Italian* Captain,

tain, that had been gained, falling out at Play; the Quarrel came to a Duel, wherein the Captain was mortally wounded; who, to diſburthen his Conſcience, made confeſſion of all at his Death to the *Venetian* Officer who commanded.

The Enſign miſtruſting the Iſſue, upon his wounding the Captain, betook him to Flight, together with ſuch others of the *Complices* as he had leiſure to advertize: the reſt were ſurprized; amongſt which the *French* Lieutenant, who was the head of that Deſign. But whereas *Renault* had no correſpondence with them but by an Agent who was a *Millaneſe*, and happened to be out of the way, this whole Deſign was imputed to *Don Pedro*. Eight days after this, the Serjeant Major, who had undertaken to deliver *Maraw*, having with-held for his own uſe ſome Profits accruing to a Servant of the Commiſſaries, as alſo of a Penſioner of the Republick, theſe, enraged at their Loſs, took occaſion upon his abſence, to enter into his Houſe, break open his Coffers, and take away his Mony and Papers; among which were found Letters which made mention of the Deſign: Howbeit, he having no other light but from the Dukes Agent, with whom he had Treated, he could accuſe no body but the Duke; but he takes a nobler Reſolution; he therefore in the

the midſt of his Torments replyed, That he was aſſured they would never ſave him though he ſhould confeſs the naked Truth, and that he thought it better to leave to his Companions, if he had any, to revenge his Death, than to betray them by a fruitleſs Confeſſion. Publick thanksgivings were now performed in *Venice* for theſe two Diſcoveries, whilſt the main Enterprize became by theſe accidents more proſperous than before

The Senate at length concluding they had diſcovered the ſecret Cauſe of the *Spaniards* ſo irregular proceedings, and theſe two Plots being detected, they propoſed to themſelves a State of perfect Repoſe and Tranquillity, and an aſſurance of an intire conſummation of the Treaty.

In the mean Seaſon, the time of Execution draws near: After the Sunday that precedes the *Aſcenſion* day until *Pentecoſt*, there is held in *Venice* one of the moſt famous Fairs in the World; the great concourſe of Trading people could give no impediment to the ſurprize of the Town, and would yield a fair opportunity of introducing the 1000 Soldiers, who mixing themſelves with the Merchants, could enter and lodg themſelves without being remarked: and it was eaſie to remove from the *Venetian* Towns wherein they were diſperſed, in regard that ſome time

before

before ſuch as had been moſt preſt to retire home had diſbanded themſelves; and the Officers of the Town took now no further care, in conſideration they were ſo many people that lived free of all Charge to the Republick. But, leſt it ſhould occaſion any Surprize, that ſo great a number ſhould now Disband in ſo ſhort a time, the greateſt part pretended at their departure they went to the Fair at *Venice*, diſguiſing themſelves under the Characters of all ſorts of Profeſſions: they obſerved to lodg themſelves in Parties that ſpake diſferent Languages, to the end the better to remove all ſuſpicion of Intelligence; obſerving a ſtrangeneſs and unacquaintance among themſelves.

The 500 *Spaniards*, deſtined to the Plot at *Crema* that was diſcovered, were ſent at the ſame time into the Neighbourhood of *Breſcia*, to poſſeſs themſelves of that City upon the firſt intimation of ſucceſs in the Conſpiracy, and by favour of the Faction, that the Lieutenant of the *Count de Naſſaw* had formed there, and ſtill held out. As to the *Venetian* Fleet, that was Harboured in *Dalmatia*, but in Condition to be able to put to Sea upon the firſt Summons, by reaſon of the Duke of *Oſſuna's* uncertain Motions. The Captain ſent to the Commanders of the 12 Ships in his abſence a ſort of Fire-Works, very fierce, to diſtribute ſecretly

ſecretly throughout the whole Fleet the Eve of the Execution. As no body had any cauſe to ſuſpect thoſe Officers, it was very eaſy to effect this, without the leaſt obſervation: they were Ordered to adjuſt the meaſures of their Match, that their Fire-Works might take effect, if poſſible, in one and the ſame Moment; and that, in caſe any ſhould eſcape, they ſhould poſſeſs them by force of Arms, or ſink them with their great Guns: That they ſhould then make the beſt of their way towards *Venice*, and there diſpoſe themſelves for a ready Execution of whatſoever Orders they ſhould receive: Howbeit, they were to attend new Inſtructions.

For the time of Execution, the day was appointed to be the *Sunday* before *Aſcenſion*-day, which is the firſt of the Fair. The Duke of *Oſſuna* had now ſo Ordered the Conduct of his little Fleet, that they Arrived, without any memorable Accident, within ſix Miles of *Venice*; It was ranged in two Squadrons, which were Ordered to keep ſome diſtance in their Sailing, the better to prevent Obſervation: The principal was compoſed of Barks of the Built of Fiſher-Boats, to render them leſs ſuſpicious; the reſt conſiſted of Brigantines, after the manner of Privateers.

Upon the *Satturday* Morning *Elliot* received Orders to depart the next day, that he might arrive within View of the City upon the cloſe of the Evening; That he ſhould ſpread the Flag of Saint *Mark*; That he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of ſome ſmall Iſlands, by which he muſt neceſſarily paſs, being of no defence, and from whence poſſibly might be conveyed Intelligence of his Motions; That he ſhould then boldly preſent himſelf before the two Caſtles of *Lyde* and *Malamocco*, for that they had no Gariſon within; and that he ſhould make the beſt of his way between them; That he ſhould advance to within Cannon-ſhot of the City, and ſhould immediately advertiſe of his Arrival; and, upon the return of the Bark that ſhould carry the Intelligence, the Captain would ſend them Pilots to Conduct them ſafe from the Shoals and Rocks, wherewith *Venice* is ſurrounded, and which render the Entry of the Ports impoſſible to thoſe that are not well acquainted.

Whereas the following day would be neceſſary to diſpoſe things for Execution at Night, *Renault* and the Captain judged it neceſſary to hold a final Conſultation the Evening before with the reſt of the Complices; The Captain leaving to *Renault* to repreſent the true State of Affairs, and to give the neceſſary Advices thereupon: but with all their dil-

diligence they could not have a full Meeting till it was almoſt Night.

The Aſſembly conſiſted of the three *French*-Men that Quartered with *Renault*, the Lieutenant of the *Count de Naſſaw*, the three *Petardiers*, *L' Anglade*, the two Officers of the *Arſenal*; The Captain and Lieutenant that had been employed before *Nolot*, the two *Brulards*, *Jaffier*, *Robert Theodore* the *Hollander*, The *Savoyard* that had been at the *Eſcalade* of *Geneva*, and the Engineer *Revillido*.

Theſe 20 Perſons being met at the *Greeks* with *Renault* and the Captain; and having retired to the moſt ſecret Quarter of the Houſe, after the neceſſary Cautions cuſtomary in theſe Meetings; *Renault* brake Silence: He began with a Narrative plain and particular of the preſent poſture of Affairs, of the Forces of the Republick, and of their own; of the Diſpoſitions of the City, and of the Fleet; of the preparations of *Don Pedro* and the Duke of *Oſſuna*; of the Arms and other Proviſions of War lodged at the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors; of the Intelligence they had in the Senate, and amongſt the Nobles; in Concluſion, of the exact Meaſures they had taken touching all things that imported their enquiry.

After having gained the approbation of his Auditory by this Recital, in the truth whereof they were all throughly informed, and where-

in they had been equally concerned with himſelf, he continued his Diſcourſe in the following Terms.

*Thus my Companions, You have before you the means deſtined for your Conduct to the Glory you purſue; There is none of you but can judg if they are ſufficient, and aſſured: We are ſecure of infallible Methods for introducing of* 10000 *Armed Men, into a City that cannot make* 200 *to Oppoſe us; and where the Plunder will invite to our Party all the Strangers that either Curioſity or Commerce hath brought amongſt them; and where their very Subjects themſelves will Aſſiſt us in diſpoiling their Maſters (who have often ſpoiled them) upon the leaſt Proſpect of Impunity.*

*The principal Ships of their Fleet are at our Devotion, and the reſt carry in their Boſoms what will quickly reduce them to Aſhes: The* Arſenal, *that famous* Arſenal, *the wonder of* Europe *and terror of* Aſia*! is as it were already in our Poſſeſſion: The nine Brave Perſons here preſent*

*preſent, and that for the ſpace of ſix months have had it in their Power to ſeiz it, have ſo well taken their Meaſures, during this retardment, that they conceive there will be no hazard in Anſwering on Peril of their Heads, to render themſelvs Maſters thereof; and though we ſhould fail both of the Troops of the* Lazaretto, *and thoſe of the Continent, of* Elliots *little Fleet, and the* 500 *Men from* Don Pedro, *of the* 20 Venetian *Ships, of our* Companion, *the great Ships of the Duke of* Oſſuna, *and the* Spaniſh *Army in* Lombardy, *We ſhould yet be ſtrong enough with the Intelligence we have, and the* 1000 *Men that are Introduced: howbeit all theſe different ſupplies that have been recited are ſo contrived, that either may fail without bringing the leaſt damage to the reſt; they may exceedingly fortify each other by their help, but can never annoy. It is almoſt impoſſible that they ſhould not all take effect, and one alone is ſufficient. That after having practiſed all the Caution humane prudence can ſug-*

*geſt, Judgment may be made of the ſucceſs Fortune hath deſtined us. What Teſtimony now can we hope of her Favour, that would not fall ſhort of thoſe we have? Yes my Friends! They contain manifeſtly ſomething of Prodigy: Hiſtory has no Precedent of an Enterprize of this nature, where the diſcovery of a part has not detected the whole; and ours hath ſtood the Tryal of five Accidents, wherein the leaſt in all humane appearance, indangered Ruine: who would not have believed but the loſs of* Spinoſa, *who traced our ſteps, would have been our perdition? That the diſmiſſion of the Troops of* Leiveiſtein *that had all avowed our Service, had not diſcloſed what we held concealed? That the defeat of the little Fleet, had not broken all our Meaſures, and been a plentiful Spring of new Miſchiefs? That the diſcovery of* Crema, *and that of* Maran, *ſhould not of neceſſity have diſcovered the whole Party? All theſe Accidents have occurred without effect; They have not purſued the Track that would have conducted*

*duced them to us, nor have improved the hints they might have collected thence. Never did Repoſe ſo profound precede a Calamity ſo great: The Senate we are thoroughly inſtructed in; The Senate is in perfect Security: Our good Fortune hath blinded the moſt quick-ſighted of all Mankind, fortified the moſt fearful, charmed the moſt ſuſpectful, and confounded the moſt ſubtile.*

*We are yet alive, my dear Friends, and more powerful than before theſe Diſaſters, which have been the proofs only of our Conſtancy.*

*We yet live, and our Life ſhall quickly prove fatal to theſe Tyrants: can a felicity ſo extraordinary, ſo perſevering, be natural? Have we not ſome ground of preſumption, that it is the Work of ſome Power exalted above the Common Level of humane thought? and indeed, my Friends, what can there be upon Earth, worthy Divine Protection, if what we undertake doth not challenge it? We deſtroy the moſt deteſtable of all Governments,*

*and reſtore ſo many poor Subjects of the State that groan eternally under the Oppreſſion of an Avaritious Nobility. We ſecure the Honour of ſo many Women as would one day be born under their Dominion, qualified for their Pleaſure and Luxury. We redeem an infinite number of miſerable Wretches, which their Cruelty expoſes a Sacrifice to their leaſt reſentments upon the ſlendereſt Motive: In a word, We puniſh the moſt Criminal of all Mankind, equally nurſt up with Vices which Nature abhors, and with thoſe ſhe cannot ſuffer without Shame.*

*Let us then without Reluctancy with Fire and Sword endeavour to exterminate thoſe Tyrants; and when we ſhall behold the Palace where Impiety ſits on the Throne, flaming with a Fire, rather from Heaven than Ours, thoſe Tribunals ſtained by the Tears and Sufferings of the Innocent conſumed by devouring Flames, The furious Soldier unſheathing his reaking Dagger from the Boſom of the Wretched, Death diſperſed through all Quarters, and*

*and all that the Night and a Soldiers fury can produce to compleat a ſpectacle of horror, let us then call to mind, my dear Friends, that there is nothing pure amongſt Men, that the moſt eligible things have the greateſt allays; and to conclude, in exchange of the many Enormities under which this unfortunate Country labours, the Diſorders of the approaching Night are the only means to Crown them with Peace, Juſtice, and Liberty for ever.*

This Diſcourſe was received by the reſt, with that approbation which we uſually beſtow on opinions ſuitable to our own; Howbeit *Renault* that ſtudied their Faces, remarkt in *Jaffier*, one of the Captains moſt intimate Friends, a ſudden tranſportment; from a moſt profound attention, to a diſorder, which he endeavoured in vain to cover, ſomething ſtill remaining in his Looks of Sadneſs and Surprize; which betrayed a Spirit labouring under the moſt violent Reluctancy. This *Renault* obſerved to the Captain, who at firſt laught at his ſuſpicion, but obſerving *Jaffier* with ſome diligence, became at length almoſt of the ſame Belief.

*Renault*, that was a good Interpreter of the Faculties, and knew how to value the ſecret move-

movements of the Soul from the leaſt exterior hint that eſcapes upon any violent agitation of the Mind, having maturely conſidered what he had read in *Jaffiers* Countenance, thought it his Duty to declare to the Captain his Opinion that he was not to be truſted. The Captain, who knew *Jaffier* to be one of the braveſt Men living, accuſed his Judgment of Violence and precipitation, but *Renault* obſtinate in the Juſtification of his ſuſpicion, explained himſelf with ſo Judicious Reaſon and Argument, that though the Captain was not ſo nearly touched as he, yet he was at leaſt convinced that *Jaffier* was a Man to be obſerved; but withal he replied to *Renault* that though *Jaffier* ſhould be a little ſhaken, (which he could not tell how to believe) he would not have leiſure enough by the Morrow to deliberate upon his reſolution of betraying them; But on the whole, that conſidering the poſture into which their affairs were ripened, there was no room to reſolve upon new Methods; and that they could not avoid embarking upon the Execution with all the hazard.

*Renault* replyed, there was yet one certain way to ſecure them, and that was to Ponyard him themſelves that Night; upon which Propoſition the Captain remained ſome time in ſuſpence, but in the end replyed, That he could not reſolve on the death of one of his beſt Friends,

friends, upon the bare motive of ſuſpicion; that a kind of Reſolution might have very many evil Conſequences; that he was tender of diſcompoſing the minds of the reſt, and becoming odious to them; and conſidered as one that challenged an Empire over them; and pretended a ſovereign juriſdiction of life & death: That it was not to be hoped that they could comprehend ſo clearly the neceſſity of killing *Jaffier* as themſelves did, and that not being ſo poſſeſt, each Conſpirator could not but conſider with regret, his Life expoſed upon the leaſt hint, or imagination that ſhould occur; And that ſince every Man was now under the moſt Violent agitations of Spirit, the ſlendereſt Accident might occaſion a Revolution, and that in ſuch a poſture of Affairs the leaſt Change was of infinite importance, for that they had but the two extream Paths now to tread, that in caſe they ſhould endeavour to conceal the Reaſon of *Jaffier's* abſence, that would beget a worſe ſuſpicion, that he is diſcovered, and either a Priſoner, or their Enemy; and what reaſon or pretext ſoever they could forge for his abſence upon the Evening of the Execution, being appointed to ſo principal a Charge, it would not chooſe but much intimidate the reſt, and ſuggeſt melancholly and doubtful apprehenſions. *Renault* was attentively harkning to the Captain's Diſcourſe,

when

when one of their people entred the Room with an Order of the Senate which they had juſt received for the Embarking on the Morrow, all the Officers of the Fleet; bringing alſo with him a Note from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, which explained to them the Reaſon of their Embarking.

The Duke of *Oſſuna* could not Conceal his Departure ſo ſecretly from *Naples* to joyn with his great Fleet, but the Spies of the Republick got the Wind of it: But he having left Order that no correſpondence by Letter, or Courier, ſhould be permitted with *Venice* till ſuch a ſpace of time; The *Venetians* had not till then got any Advice of his Departure.

The Arch-Duke being newly elected King of *Bohemia*, had demanded Aids of the Duke againſt the Rebels of that Kingdom, which were drawing together about that time, and the Vice-King having Proclaimed that he would conduct theſe Succors by way of the Gulph, to ſome Port of the Arch-Dukes on the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, The *Venetians* had beſought him by Mediation of the Prince himſelf, to take ſome other Courſe. But he who never governed himſelf by the currant Sentiments of the reſt of Mankind, ſo ſoon as they had Intimation of his Departure, did not at all doubt but it had been an Order to the Conducting thoſe Succors in Perſon by the way he had

had reſolved: they were determined not to Diſpute his Paſſage, which they might have done, becauſe they would avoid all Occaſions of a Breach: they concluded therefore only to diſpatch their Fleet, with Order to lie upon the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, where he was to diſembark his Troops, to have an Eye upon his Motions, and to prevent the Temptation the Proſpect of their Maritime Towns in his Paſſage might ſuggeſt. The firmeſt Reſolution Man's Nature is capable of, ſprings for the moſt part from the ſtrongeſt Imagination of the Danger he is to Incur, by Vertue of which Imagination, the Soul in the end becomes familiar with the Circumſtances of that Danger, how frightful ſoever it might ſeem at firſt ſight, after Duty conſidered; but alſo this ſteadineſs of Reſolution is ſo united to theſe Circumſtances, that in Caſe any of them ſhould chance to change upon the point of Execution, 'tis odds but it begets a wavering in our Reſolutions alſo: This was what gave *Renault* and the Captain ſome apprehenſions touching their Companions upon the occaſion of their Embarking ſo unexpectedly, upon the *Venetian Fleet*; Which News was very unwelcome, in that they conjectured thereupon they ſhould be conſtrained to alter ſomething of the Method of proceeding as they had adjuſted preparatory to the Execution of

their

their Enterprize; nor could they prevent it by inſtantly Engaging, The Night being too far advanced, and it would be day ere they could give Advice to the little-Fleet, to Order their approach to be within Cannon-Shot of the Town, in Order to the firſt Scene of the Tragedy, and before they could give Intimation to the Troops at the *Lazaretto*. On the morrow the *Venetian*-Fleet was to Sail, and in Caſe they ſhould Order *Elliot* to Advance, he would certainly be diſcovered by the Boats that would be all that day holding Correſpondence between the Fleet and the Town. The Courſe they were to ſteer proved the moſt favourable to the Conſpirators they could wiſh, being directly contrary to *Elliot's* Station; and upon mature debate, it was concluded beſt to give them leiſure till they were got a convenient diſtance. The difficulty was, to Reſolve whether the Captain *L' Anglade*, the three *Petardiers*, and the others that had Charge in the Fleet, ſhould obey the Inſtructions of the Senate; Their Aſſiſtance was indiſpenſably neceſſary at *Venice*, in Order to the Execution, and above all the Captains, howbeit, his abſence from the Fleet appeared the greateſt difficulty; The Character he had there, rendring him more conſpicuous than al the other party, who having for the moſt part imployment in the Veſſels in his own Squadron, he would be

be able to ſupply the want of the reſt by his ſingle Authority, and prevent even the notice of their Abſence. The Reſult of this Conference was, That the Captain ſhould Embarque with only *L' Anglade*, whoſe buſineſs together with that of the three *Petardiers*, depended immediately on the General, howbeit they were reſolved to run any hazard rather than permit their departure: the General upon the Captains coming aboard, demanded where they were? who replied he believ'd they had concealed themſelves in *Venice* among the *Curtizans*, together with other Officers of his Veſſels which he could not find, and was ſo preſt to his departure that he had not leiſure to ſeek them. The Orders of the Senate were ſo peremptory for the Sailing of the Fleet, that the General had not leiſure at firſt to conſider upon ſending to find them out, and now could leſs attend their ſearch. Upon the Captains Embarking, he took *Jaffier* aſide, particularly to Conjure him to fill his place near *Renault* upon the Night of Execution; he ſuperadded the aſſurance they had in his Conduct and Courage, without which confidence he had never been drawn to abſent himſelf, and that he concluded his ſecond-ſelf remained with his Companions, whilſt *Jaffier* was among them: during this Diſcourſe the Captain obſerved him diligently, but he charm'd

charm'd with ſo many Teſtimonies of Eſteem and Reſpect they had for him, replyed with ſo much appearance of Zeal, Fidelity, and Acknowledgment, that would have confirmed the moſt ſuſpicious Man living. But this was the laſt fit of his dying Reſolution, which expired upon his Friends departure: and his abſence, whoſe conſideration alone could ſupport him, now abandoned him wholly to his incertitude. The deſcription *Renault* had made of the Night of Execution towards the end of his harangue, had ſo affected him, that he could no longer ſubdue his compaſſion, his Imagination added an Elegancy to the Picture, and deſcribed in the livelieſt Colours all the Cruelties, and certain Violences, incident to ſuch occaſions; from that moment, his Ears were ever Aſſaulted with the Cries of Infants trampled under Foot, the Groans of old Men expiring with their Wounds, the Shrieks of Raviſht Women; his Eyes beheld nothing but Pallaces in Ruines, Temples in Flames, Holy places profaned, and Violated; *Venice* the ſad, the deplorable *Venice*, was ſtill in his View; no more the Triumphant as in time paſt, over the *Ottaman* Fortune, and the *Spaniſh* Inſolence, but in Cinders, or in Ruines; immerſt more in the Blood of her Inhabitants, than in the Waters that ſurround her. This funeſt Image haunted him night and

and Day, ſollicited him, preſt, and at length ſhook him: In vain he calls up his Courage to baniſh it, more obſtinate than all the Poets furies; interrupting his Repaſt, troubling his Repoſe, and ſtealing into even his very Dreams. But to betray all his Friends, and ſuch friends! ſo brave! ſo prudent! ſo ſingular in the reſpective Talents wherein they excell'd! 'Twould be the work of many ages to unite again ſuch a number of extraordinary Men, at a conjuncture wherein they were upon rendring themſelves memorable to the laſt poſterity: Shall he eclipſe the Glory of reaping the matureſt Fruit, of the moſt exalted Reſolution that hath been ever conceived by the Spirit of Man? And how ſhall they periſh? by Torments more ſingular & exquiſite than what all the Tyrants of of paſt Ages had ever invented? Who is ignorant that in *Venice* there is a ſort of Priſon more capable of ſhaking the ſtrongeſt Reſolution, than all the Pomp of the moſt frightful Executions of other Countries. Theſe laſt reflections, which aſſaulted *Jaffier* upon his weak Side, reduced him to ſome reaſſurance. The concern he had entertained for his Companions, had a little prevailed upon his pitty for the Deſolation of *Venice*, and under theſe terms of irreſolution he continued until the Feaſt of *Aſcenſion*; to which time they had reſpited the Execution. On the Morning they received advice from the *Captain*, who aſſured them he would anſwer for the Fleet; That they

were bound towards *Maran*; and that at the ſame time they ſent to the *Lazaretto* for the Troops of *Loveſtein*, they ſhould diſpatch a Boat of Advice to him, which he would await in order to his attempting what was to be done on his part. They had now diſpatcht to *Elliot* the Pilots they had promiſed: they had introduced into the Bell-Tower of the Procuratie of St. *Mark* the People that had been appointed to that Poſt, who being acquainted with thoſe that held the Guard, ſhould ſtupefy them with certain preparations they had made, to mingle with their Meat and Drink, whereof by reaſon of the ſolemnity of the Feaſt they might oblige them to eat and drink plentifully. Orders were diſtributed to the reſpective Officers, they had choſen to attaque ſuch of the Senators in their Houſes as were moſt to be ſuſpected, and kill them. To theſe each had his Houſe aſſigned him, alſo every principal Conſpirator and Officer, had his Poſt appointed him, the number of Men he was to Command, and the Watch-Word accuſtomary: They had alſo ſent orders to the Troops in the *Lazaretto*, and to the *Spaniards* in the little Fleet, explaining by what methods they ſhould diſperſe themſelves upon their Landing at the place of St. *Mark*, which was the general Rendezvouz: The Places they were to poſſeſs, the Leaders they were to follow, and the Word alſo for their conduct. They alſo cauſed the Galley-foiſt of the Coun-

Council of Ten to be Surveyed by people unſuſpected, and found the Artillery ſhe had aboard for their purpoſe. *Jaffier* had the curioſity of ſeeing the ſolemnity of the Dukes Eſpouſal of the Sea, it being likely to be the laſt; and there his compaſſion is reinforced upon the proſpect of thoſe publick rejoycings. The tranquillity wherein he beheld the unfortunate *Venetians*, excited anew his concern for their haſtning perdition, till at length he became more wavering than ever. But to conclude, Heaven would not abandon the work of twelve Ages, and of ſo many able Maſters to the fury of a Courtezan, and a Troop of deſperate Men.

The good *Genius* of the Republick ſuggeſted to *Jaffier* an expedient whereby he concluded he might ſave altogether, both *Venice* and his Companions: He therefore finds out *Bartholomew Comino*, Secretary to the Council of *Ten*; telling him he had a matter of State, of extraordinary importance to communicate, but that he would firſt have the Dukes and Councils aſſurance of Grace and Pardon, wherein they ſhould tye themſelves with all the Religious and Holy Circumſtances poſſible, to ratify by the *Senate* what they ſhould promiſe; which Grace was the Life of twenty two Perſons which he ſhould nominate, let the Crimes be never ſo monſtrous; That otherwiſe all the Torments they could inflict, ſhould never be able to draw a word from his

Mouth. The Ten were thereupon immediately aſſembled, and Ordered a Committee to wait upon the Duke to receive from him the Parole *Jaffier* had demanded, wherein he complyed with the ſame readineſs they had done before; and then *Jaffier*, fully ſatisfied in what he went about, diſcovered to them the whole Conſpiracy. The Story was ſo full of horror and wonder, that it was too big for their Belief; howbeit it being eaſie to verify ſome of the Particulars, *Comino* was immediately diſpatcht to the Bell-Tower of the Procuratie, and reports that he found the Guards wholly drunk or aſleep; then they ſent to the Arſenal, where it was long ere they could find the Officers that were concerned: but in the end, one of the Servants afrightned with the Threatnings wherewith they menaced him, diſcovered to them a ſmall Wicket which they forced open, after they had long knockt in vain; there they found them with the three Petardiers, employed upon finiſhing the five Fire-works that were deſtined for the Execution: they were ask'd what made them work upon ſo eminent a Feaſt-day, and why they made no anſwer upon their knocking ſo long at the door? To which they replyed with much preſence of Wit; That the Petardiers being to depart on the morrow towards the Fleet, and that the General had commanded them to prepare a quantity of Fire-works juſt ready to be put in uſe, and that not having

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a ſufficient quantity ready made, they had intreated the others to aſſiſt them to compleat that Quantity: That the Affair ſeeming to them of ſome importance, they conceived it their duty for once to diſpence with the Solemnity of the Day; and the better to follow their Work without ſcandal, they had ſhut themſelves up as they found them into the moſt retired place of the Arſenal, which they had choſen for that purpoſe. Although *Comino* could find nothing to Reply to this Confeſſion, yet he was careful to confine them all Priſoners: The Ten more and more amazed, diſpatcht them to the *Greek* Courtezans, but there they found no body; thoſe that were appointed to debauch the Guards in the Bell Tower, having fained themſelves aſleep amongſt the reſt, upon *Comino*'s appearing among them, did upon his departure immediatly haſten to the *Greeks*, where they gave the Alarum ſo warmly, that upon the very moment *Nolot*, *Robert*, *Revillido*, *Retroſi*, *Villa Mezzana*, *Durand*, *Ternon*, and *Robert Brulard* that by accident were there, fled, and embarkt themſelves in a Boat they had retained at the *Rialto* Bridg, for the Tranſportation of the Troops at the *Lazaretto*, and happily made their eſcape out of Town. The diſpleaſure the *Venetians* took at their miſſing them, put them upon reſolutions of viſiting the Ambaſſadors Houſes of *France* and *Spain*, without further delay; they therefore made civil demand of Admiſſion, upon

buſineſs that imported the Service of the *Republick*: The *French* Ambaſſador made no ſcruple to admit them, and *Renault* was apprehended, and led away together with *Laurence Brulard* and *Bribe*. But the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, very ſharply alledged the priviledg of his Character, and with much importment proteſted againſt the violence they offered, when he perceived they would force their Paſſage: Upon their entry they found Arms for above 500 Men, 60 Petards, together with a very great quantity of Powder & Fireworks, and ſuch-like Preparations; whereof they drew up an exact Inventory, himſelf being preſent mocking at their Curioſity. Upon their carrying this Inventory to the Council of Ten; a Noble-man of the Houſe of *Valiera* arrived, bringing with him *Brainvill* and *Theodore*, two of the Principal Conſpirators: Theſe upon intimation the Plot was diſcovered, and deſpairing to ſave themſelves by flight, the Gates being all guarded upon their eſcaping from the *Greeks*, reſolved upon another courſe, and feigning to diſcover the Conſpiracy, ſought out this Noble-man, whom they had known in *Flanders*, that he might carry them before the Council of Ten where they were ſecured. In the mean time a general Search was made through all the Taverns, Inns, Lodgings of hire, Brothel-houſes, and whereſoever Strangers might be ſuppoſed to conceal themſelves; ſeizing on all the Officers they found, of *Hollands*, *French*,

*French*, *Spaniards*, *Walloons*, *Neopolitans*, or *Millanois*, to the number of near 400. Amidſt theſe Tranſactions, two *Dauphinois* arrived from *Orange*, Booted and Spurred, juſt as they had caſt themſelves from their Poſt-Horſes into the Boat that conducted them thither; theſe declared to the Council of Ten, that ſome *French*-men of their acquaintance had written them from *Venice*, That if they had an inclination to enrich themſelves, they need but haſten to *Venice*, where there was a Conſpiracy juſt upon execution to ſurprize the whole City, and expoſe it to Pillage, & that they were come with all poſſible diligence, to make diſcovery of this Treaſon, inſtead of being ſharers therein: they were received with thanks, and honourably entertained, and intreated to take their repoſe whilſt the Senate ſhould conſider upon a fitting reward for their Service.

By this time it was day, and the Senate aſſembled, and the Marquis of *Bedamar* demanded Audience, which in curioſity only was granted him. The noiſe of the Conſpiracy was by this time diſperſed throughout the City, and begat a general conſternation among the Inhabitants; who having attained only an imperfect account that the *Spaniards* were the Authors, they immediatly beſet the Ambaſſadors Palace to force it, and were juſt upon putting fire to it, when the Guard that was to conduct him to his Audience

arrived; who making their Commiſſion known, the People flattered with hopes the Senate would make him a publick example, permitted him to come out alone, conducting him with all the Imprecations and Indignities imaginable.

The Ambaſſador being admitted into the Senate, began his Speech, with a moſt angry complaint againſt the violence had been committed upon his Houſe againſt the common right of Nations; he accompanied his Complaints with menaces of Revenge, ſo fierce and violent, that the Major part of the Senators were ſtruck with Conſternation, and apprehended he had yet recourſe to means whereof they were yet ignorant, to put his Enterprize in execution. The Duke replyed, That ſome excuſe might be contrived for the Outrage, if any reaſon could be given for thoſe Preparations of War that had been found in his Houſe, who being an Ambaſſador, ought to be a Miniſter of Peace: To which he replyed, That he wondered people reputed ſo wiſe, ſhould be yet ſo diſingenuous, to inſult to his Face upon a pretext ſo frivolous; That they knew as well as himſelf, that all thoſe Proviſions were but depoſited in his Houſe, as at other times he had practiſed, to be ſent to *Naples* and *Tyrole*; as to the Arms, 'twas the general Opinion that the beſt in the World were made by the Subjects of the Republick; and for the Fire-Works, *&c.* the occaſion of ſome excellent Work-men in that

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Art, that had been preſented him, had engaged him to employ them out of curioſity: The Duke interrupting him, ſaid, thoſe Work-Men were Villains, or rather Monſters, born to the eternal ſhame of humane race; and, upon theſe words, preſented the Ambaſſador with a Letter of Credence for the Governour of *Milan*, which they had found among *Renault's* Papers, with other Letters of the Duke of *Oſſuna*. The Ambaſſador replyed, that for the Duke of *Oſſuna* he had always declared that he would never be accomptable for any proceedings of his: As to the Letter of Credence, it was true the Ambaſſador of *France* had ſome time ſince recommended a Gentleman to him, that ſtood in need of his Favour, upon ſome pretenſion he had in *Milan*, and that upon that motive he had given him his Letter, which was the ſame they preſented to him, but was utterly ignorant the Republick was at all intereſted in the affair. The Duke perceiving by his Replies, that the Ambaſſador would never want fair Apologies, contented himſelf to repreſent to him with much gravity the foulneſs of his Enterprize; and concluded, proteſting that they were all far from ſuſpecting the King his Maſter had the leaſt part therein: The Ambaſſador upon that Remonſtrance, anſwer'd with all the Emportment of an honeſt Man, whoſe Honour is unjuſtly attacqu'd; That he was of a Nation to which Valour and Prudence were ſo natural

tural, that there could be no need of recourſe to Secret Practices, to deſtroy their Enemies; That the King his Maſter was a Prince of Power, ſufficient to ſubdue them by open force, without the Aſſiſtance of Treaſons and Conſpiracies, which poſſibly they might ſoon find to their Coſt; upon theſe words he briskly withdraws without obſerving the leaſt Ceremony; thoſe that conducted him, conjured him to retire for ſome ſpace into a Neighbouring Apartment, until the Senate ſhould take neceſſary care for his Preſervation: he without any reply conſented to the Propoſition, and boiling with rage retired whitherſoever they pleaſed to conduct him.

In the mean time the People had drawn together in the Market-place, to aſſaſſine him, in caſe the Senate ſhould acquit him: But a Guard being ſent to ſecure the embarking of his Servants, and the moſt valuable of his Moveables, he was himſelf therupon conducted by ſom obſcure way through the Palace, on board a *Brigantine*; by which, under the protection of a good Convoy, he got away. The People enraged at his Eſcape, made Effigies both of him and the Duke of *Oſſuna*, treating them with the ſame Indignities they would have done to their Perſons, had they been in their power. Upon the ſame inſtant was diſpatcht Orders to the General of their Fleet, to cauſe *l'Anglade*, the Captain *Jaques Pierre*, and all the Officers of the Conſpiracy, which the Captain had on board his

his Ships, to be immediately drown'd: but upon expectation that they would be upon their Guard, they made choice of a Veſſel for this meſſage the moſt improper they could light on, and equipt her ſo, as to hinder all manner of ſuſpicion that ſhe came from thence; Ordering her alſo to ſteer a Courſe with ſo great compaſs about, that ſhe ſhould ſeem of all others, leaſt bound from the Place out of which ſhe ſailed. Information was afterwards made that the Captain had been in a readineſs all the night, and that having obſerved the arrival of that Veſſel, he retired into the midſt of his Squadron, as if he had been in ſome ſuſpicion of the truth, and was willing to be in a poſture of defence in caſe he ſhould be betrayed: But 'tis to be thought that he unwilling to hazard the danger of diſcovery upon what might prove only a bare panick fear, took ſome time to deliberate if it were fit to declare, whilſt the General who loſt not one moment of time, diſpatcht two perſons on board him, the leaſt ſuſpicious he could; who appearing without any Arms, were admitted to his Cabbin, where finding him alone accoſted him with an air of much indifference, and ſtabbing him, threw him into the Sea, without the leaſt noiſe: *L'Anglade*, and 40 of his Officers were ſerved in the ſame ſort, with all the expedition imaginable, and the like ſecrecy.

In the mean time *Renault* is examined at *Venice*, who replyed he underſtood not what they de-

demanded; they ſhew him the Letter of Credence to *Don Pedro*, a Paſport in *Spaniſh*, Bills of Exchange for conſiderable Sums of Money, and 1000 Piſtols in ready Gold: Upon which he replyed, That he neither knew the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, nor the Governour of *Milan*; ſo that in caſe any could be found among his Papers, that led them to thoſe Inquiries, it muſt needs be that ſome body had maliciouſly put them there. They brought him to the Rack, and gave him the queſtion ordinary and extraordinary, to which he anſwered nothing that was new, only that he was a Poor, Honeſt Gentleman of Quality and Honour, and that God would be his Revenge: The Rack was ſeveral days together preſented him, with promiſe of his Life in caſe he would but confeſs what he knew, but all to no purpoſe; and after having ſuffered all their ways of torment, he was in the end ſtrangled in the Priſon, and after expoſed in publick for a Traytor, hanging by one Leg. The Lieutenant of the Count de *Naſſaw*, the three Petardiers, *Bribe*, *Laurence*, *Brulard*, and the two Officers of the *Arſenal*, were all ſo ſtrangled, after having ſuffered the queſtion with the ſame conſtancy: But *Brainvil* and above 300 Officers were only ſtrangled, or ſecretly drowned.

In the mean time *Jaffier* in deſperation upon the diſmal ſucceſs of his Compaſſion, loudly complained of the breach of promiſe of the Duke and

and Council, touching the Preſervation of his Companions: They had not indeed failed but upon deliberate advice; many were of opinion it ſhould be religiouſly obſerved; others concluded it doubtful in caſe they had not received any intimation but by *Jaffier*: But the two *Dauphinois* that alſo diſcovered it, put the Senate upon the ſame reſolution, as if *Jaffier* had not done any thing therein; to which reſolution they were the rather led, for the greater horror, and example to the Publick, albeit much might have been urged to the contrary; they endeavoured therefore to appeaſe *Jaffier*, by all means poſſible; tendring him both Money and Employment, which he refuſed, obſtinately perſiſting in his fruitleſs demand of the Lives of his Companions, and in the end left the City inconſolable for their Sufferings, which the Senate coming to underſtand, ordered him to deſert their State within the ſpace of three days, on pain of death, and 4000 Chiquins for whoſoever ſhould take him. The reſentments of his Pitty for his Companions redoubled upon every Reflection that himſelf was the Author of their Death; he conſidered by the way that the Enterprize of *Breſſia* was yet in a condition of taking effect, and the deſire of Revenge upon the Senate, carried him to that Town, where he was hardly arrived when the Ten having diſcovered by ſome Papers of the Conſpirators; Troops were immediately diſpatcht to poſ-

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ſeſs the Principal Poſts, and to put to the Sword ſuch *Spaniards* as had been Introduced: *Jaffier* was taken Priſoner fighting at the Head of the Party, as a Man that ſought nothing more than to ſell his Life at a greater rate than ordinary, who being ſome few days after ſent to *Venice*, was there drown'd the day after his Arrival.

The Death of this unfortunate Wretch perfected the eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in that great City.

The firſt care of the Senate was to demand another Ambaſſador from *Madrid*; *Don Lewis Bravo* was ſoon nominated for that Employment, with Order to depart immediately, the Marquis of *Bedamar* giving him (according to cuſtom) Inſtructions which were reducible almoſt to two Heads: The firſt was, That the new Ambaſſador ſhould lowly and publickly blame the Conduct of his Predeceſſor, and ſhould affect a Method quite different in his own, even in matters of the greateſt Indifference. The other was, That in all Affairs that ſhould occur, touching the Rights and Preheminences of the Republick, he ſhould conſult above all things, *Squittinio della liberta Veneta*, to which the Marquis of *Bedamar* refers him, upon ſeveral Points mentioned in thoſe Inſtructions, and in terms howbeit obſcure, yet evidencing the Paternal Kindneſs he had for that Libel. And now it was decreed by Proclamation, and ſound of Trumpet, through the whole

*Venetian*

*Venetian* State, that none ſhould preſume on pain of death, to impute the leaſt ſhare of the Conſpiracy, either to his Catholick Majeſty or his Subjects. Thirty Thouſand Ducats were given to the two *Dauphinois*, that had come expreſs from their own Countrey to diſcover the Conſpiracy.

*Don Pedro* finding matters now paſt all hopes, diſmiſt quite his Troops and ſurrendred *Verſeil*; the Duke of *Oſſuna* generouſly provided for the Wife and Children of the Captain, ſetting them at liberty; and the Marquis of *Bedamar* received Orders from *Spain* to depart and ſerve as Principal Miniſter in *Flanders*, and ſome years after from *Rome* a Cardinals Hat.

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